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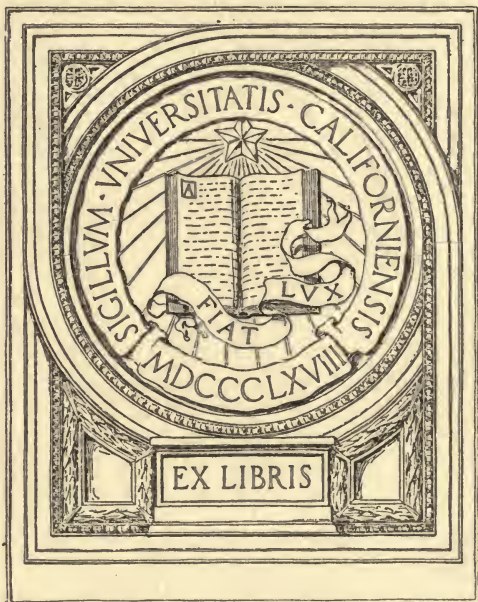
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Comparison of the Anglo-Saxon

The Language
of the
Rushworth Gloss

to the
Gospel of Matthew
and the
Mercian Dialect

Part II.

The vowels of other syllables than stem-syllables;
Consonants; Inflection.

by

Edward Miles Brown, Ph. D.

Professor of English in the University of Cincinnati.

Göttingen 1892.

Druck der Dieterich'schen Universitäts-Buchdruckerei.

(W. Fr. Kaestner.)

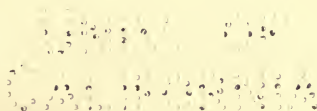
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The Vowels of Medial and Final Syllables, and of Prefixes.

Here are considered the vowels of suffixes, whether old or secondary and auxiliary (svarabhakti). Inflectional syllables will be treated under the head of Inflection. Many prefixes have been already considered in Part I. The arrangement of the material is, in the main, that of Zeuner in »*Die Sprache des kentschen Psalters*«.

Vowel-Gradation.

§ 1. In WS. the Germanic back vowel of suffixes appears most commonly as *o*, often weakened to *a* and *e* (cf. Cosijn, § 114 ff.). R' has both *u* and *o* (sometimes *e*), with the balance on the side of *u*. In Corpus Gl. *u* is in excess of *o* (cf. Dieter, p. 45). The Ritual fluctuates between *u* and *o* (cf. Lindelöf, p. 46), while the Ps. has regularly *u* (cf. Zeuner, p. 56 ff.).

a) *ur-er* (stems in *-os*, *-es*; cf. Sievers, § 288, Cosijn, II., §§ 8 and 35, 10). The only forms in R' that show *r* are these: *æchir* (ac. pl.) 12. 1 (WS. has *ēar* from **ahur*, cf. Pt. I., p. 24); this *-ir* does not appear to be original; *æ* is probably due to the following palatal; *sigor* (dat. sg.) 12. 20 and, with syncope, *cildra* 21. 16. The Ps. has *-ur* final, and *-er* before inflectional *u* (cf. Zeuner, p. 56); Rit. has *-er*, or syncope, before a back vowel, and umlaut in *lēmb*, (cf. Lindelöf, p. 46).

b) *ud-ed*. R' has :

heafud 14. 11 etc. (8) and *-od* (5) 6. 17; 10. 30; 14. 8; 21. 42; 27. 33; *nacud* 25. 36. 43; *-ne* 25. 38 (for WS. cf. Cos. p. 127); *e* occurs only in *somed* 13. 29; *hæmed* (coitus) 15. 19; 19. 18; *hæmef* 5. 32, with syncope *hēmdē* 24. 38 (cf. Cos., p. 147 g); *fremðum* appears only with syncope as in the Ps. (cf. Zeuner, p. 57).

Here may be mentioned:

inguðe 19. 20 with loss of *n* before *ð*, and *eorfeþe* 7. 14 from the stem *arbaidi-* (cf. Kluge, *Stammb.*, § 131a); WS. has both *o* and *e* in this word (cf. Cos., p. 137).

c) Adjectives ending in original *-ag*, *-ig*.

The suffixes *-ag* and *-ig* (from *-īg*) appear in O. E. in the form *-ig* (oftener written *-eg* in O. WS. cf. Cos. § 120; once *-eg* in Rit., and several times *-eg*, *-ei*, *-æg* in Corp. Gl., cf. Lindelöf p. 47, Dieter p. 46). R' has regularly *-ig* (94), seldom *-eg* (7), once *yg*. The form *-eg* is found in:

dysge 25. 8 (but 4 *dysig* 5. 22 etc.); *monegu* 25. 21. 23 (but 30 *monige*); *monegra* 8. 30; 24. 12 (*monigra* 24. 24); *nænegum* 17. 9; *nænegu* 13. 38 (10 *nænig* 12. 19 etc.; -ne 17. 8); *scyldyg* 23. 16 (7 *scyldig*). In all other cases *-ig*: e. g. *hungrig*, *wælig*, *stanig*, *eadig* etc. Forms having original *-ag* show no trace of umlaut in WS., in the Ps. (cf. Zeuner, p. 57), or in R', but Rit. has forms of *monig* and *halig* both with and without umlaut (cf. Lindelöf, p. 47).

d) Abstract nouns in *-nis*, *-nes* (cf. Kluge, *Stammb.*, § 137 ff.). In O. WS. the form *-nes* appears almost without exception (cf. Sievers, § 258, Cosijn, I., pp. 134—135, II., p. 28.) In R' *-nis* prevails (139), *-nes* is found only 3 times:

&spyrne 16. 23 (but *-nisse* 26. 31); *gewitnesse* 18. 16 (but 5 *-nisse*); *gehernesse* 13. 9 (but 4 *-nisse* 11. 15 etc.). In the Ps. *-nis* is the regular ending, *-nes* occurs only 14 times (cf. Zeuner, p. 57); Rit. and Corpus have only *-nis* (cf. Lindelöf, p. 46; Dieter, p. 46); the charters have *-nis*: *gewitnisse* 48. 17. 18; *hernisse* 48. 3; the Minora have 3 *-nis*, 1 *-nes*: Bl. 6. 12; Mt. 50; CA. 7.

e) Abstract feminine nouns in *-ung*, *-ing* (cf. Kluge, *Stammb.*, § 158 ff.). O. WS. has regularly *-ung*, occasionally *-ing* and *-eng*, once *-ong* (cf. Cos., II., p. 22 and pp. 23—25). R' has *-ung*, only 1 *-ing*, *aeldinge* 24. 48.

In the Ps. *-ing* is found side by side with the more usual *-ung*, but *-ing* alone (1 exception) in the dat. pl. (cf. Zeuner, p. 58); Rit. has *-ing* (28), *-eng* (2), usually *-ung*, but *-ing* does not occur before back vowels as in Ps. (cf. Lindelöf, pp. 47—48).

f) Masculine nouns in *-ing*, *-ling* (cf. Kluge, *Stammb.*, §§ 22, 24 ff., 100) appear in O. WS. with *i*, sometimes *e* (cf. Cosijn, p. 141), but *cyning* has always *i* or syncope. R' has *-ing*:

casering 17. 24 (2); *scilling* 17. 27; -a 27. 3. 9; 26. 15; -as 27. 5. 6; *lyttingan* 19. 14; *bæcline* 4. 10; *cyning* (s. Pt. I. § 41).

g) The gradation *und* -*end*. Only -*end* occurs in R':

þusend (6 times, s. I. § 55); once *þusenð* 14. 21. So in O. WS., in Ps., and in Rit.

h) -*end* from -*and* appears in:

olbend (Got. *ulbandus*) 19. 24; -*u* 23. 24; -*ena* 3. 4.

i) Vowel-gradation before *m*. O. WS. has *o* or *e*, only once *u* (cf. Cosijn p. 139). R' has 7 *e*, 4 *i*, 2 *u*, 1 *ę*:

meoduma 10. 37; 25. 45; *wæstem* 13. 8; *wæstim* 3. 10; *westem* 12. 33 (2); 3. 8; 13. 22. 23. 26; *wæstim* 21. 19. 41. 43; *westem* 7. 19; no auxiliary vowel in other forms of this word; O. WS. has *wæstm* (cf. Cosijn, § 126).

The Ps. has *e* 3 times in *gemeodemian* (cf. Zeuner p. 59); Rit. has *o* and *u* in this word, but *wæstem* (2); *væstim* (4); *væstm* (2), (cf. Lindelöf, p. 48).

j) Vowel-gradation before *n*. The frequent inflectional endings (-*an*, -*on*) will be found, of course, under Inflection. Here it may be mentioned, however, that *i*-umlaut occurs once (as in the Ps., Zeuner, p. 58) in the past part *gedōen* 28. 11; but *gedoan* 18. 31; 23. 15. Suffixes, not inflectional or adverbial endings, have *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u* before *n* in R', (for O. WS. -*on*, -*en* s. Cos. § 113 and p. 140).

-*en* appears in:

efen (evening) 23. 6 etc. (9); -*enne* 16. 2; 28. 1; *æfenne* 27. 57; *byrðen* 11. 30; *byrgenne* 23. 29 etc. (8); in the loan-word *cymen* 23. 23; *ciken* 23. 37 (cf. Pt. I. § 63); *dryhten* 25. 23 etc. (34); and abbreviated, *dryht* 24. 45 etc. (21);

druncenn(m) 24. 49; *mægden* (old -*in*) 9. 24. 25; 14. 11; *menen* (an-cilla) 26. 69; *morgen* 6. 34; 20. 1; 27. 1; *mærgen* 6. 30 (with umlaut, cf. Pt. I. § 37c); *seten-* 12. 4; *tacen* 16. 3. 4 etc. (10); but *tacun* 24. 3; 26. 48; *ticcen* 25. 33; *woesten* 14. 13; -*ne* 3. 1; 4. 1; *wæstenne* 11. 8; 15. 33; *wæstene* 24. 26; but once *westinne* 3. 3; *wolken* 17. 5.

-*in* occurs in:

firina 18. 17; -*e* 21. 31; -*æ* 21. 32; *gefirinade* 27. 4, but once *frenfullra* 11. 19; see also *westinne* above.

-*on* is found in:

nigon 18. 12. 13; -*tig* 18. 12. 13; *wacone* 14. 25; and twice in *heofona* 23. 13; -*on(um)* 5. 45, though *u* appears regularly in this word, *heofuna* (15); -*unu* (26), and always *heofun*, -*unas* (s. Pt. I. § 17);

-*un* also in:

seofun 15. 34. 36; 18. 21. 22; *siofun* 16. 10 etc. (5); -*una* 22. 28; -*und* (ord.) 22. 26.

The Ps. has only *e* in words like these, but often *o*-, *u*-umlaut, showing an older *o*, *u* (cf. Zeuner, p. 59); Rit. has both *-on* and *-en*, often in the same word (s. Lindelöf, p. 48); Corpus has *-en*, but oftener *-in* (cf. Dieter, p. 46).

The adverbial ending in R' is regularly *-an*, as in WS. (cf. Cosijn, p. 125), seldom *-on*, *-en*; occasionally *n* has fallen away :

bufan 2. 9; *on-ufan* 21. 7; *butan* 10. 29 etc. (11); *utan* 23. 25. 27. 28; *beforan* 5. 24 etc. (21); *be-hyndan* 9. 20; *binnan* 23. 27. 26; but *binne* 23. 25; *innann* 9. 3; 7. 15; *innan* 3. 9; 9. 21; 21. 38; 23. 28; but *innæ* 24. 26; *heonan* 9. 24; 17. 20; *feorran* 26. 58; 27. 55; *-ne* 23. 14; *eastan* 2. 1; 8. 11; *westan* 8. 11; *ðonan* 19. 15 etc. (16); but *-on* in *hwonon* 15. 33; *-an* 18. 25; 21. 25; 13. 54. 56. 27; *-en* in *ðenden* 25. 10; 26. 47; but without *n*, *ðende* 17. 5. 22; 9. 15; 12. 46; 26. 6. 26; *ðendi* 1. 20.

Without auxiliary vowel appear :

efn, *æfn* (s. Pt. I. § 15 b); *frægn* 16. 13; 27. 11; *ongægn* 8. 28 etc. (6); *rægn* 7. 25; *stæfn* 17. 5; *ðægn* 20. 26; 23. 11, (so in WS. cf. Cosijn, § 126).

h) The gradation *ul-el*. WS. has both *u* and *o*, sometimes *e* (cf. Cosijn, pp. 127 and 139; § 127).

R' has *-el* (= *-il* causing umlaut) in :

(the loan-word) *engel* 2. 13; 11. 10; *fœdel-* 22. 4; *orþel* 13. 54. 57; *micel* 20. 29. etc. (16); *-e* 6. 30; *-u* 24. 21; *-ne* 27. 60 (often with syncope, s. Pt. I., p. 55); *symbol* 26. 5; 27. 15; *ðyrel* 19. 24; *yfel* 5. 11 etc. (8); *-e* 15. 19; *-ne* 12. 33 (usually with syncope in obl. cas., s. Pt. I., p. 55).

-il once in *lytilra* 18. 10 (in other cases syncope, s. Pt. I. p. 67); only with syncope, *idla* 5. 22.

-ul (for *-il* causing umlaut, cf. Pog. §§ 107, 260) in *esules* 18. 6; and 3 times with *u*-umlaut *eosule* 21. 5; *-a* 21. 7; *æosul* 21. 2.

-el not causing umlaut appears in :

candel 5. 15; *gæfel* 5. 46 etc. (6 times, s. Pt. I. p. 25), WS. has regularly *-ol* in this word (cf. Cosijn, p. 1, b); *-scamel* 5. 35; *seþel* 5. 34; but *sætil* 23. 6, and twice with *-ul*; *setule* 23. 2; *-as* 23. 6; *tæppel* 5. 35 (cf. *teped*, Pog., § 42); but *tæppil* 22. 44; *ðecele* 25. 1 may have umlaut; in *cuidele* 5. 44 the *i* need not be due to the suffix.

-ul appears in :

degullice 1. 19; 17. 19; 20. 17; 24. 3; *-nisse* 6. 4. 6. 18; *deoful* 4. 5. 8 etc. (20); *efulsung* 12. 31; but six times *-al* in this word (s. Pt. I. § 17 a); *gestaþulad* 7. 25; *tungul-* 2. 1. 7. 16; *-scoful* 3. 12; and twice in *setule* (s. above).

Without auxiliary vowel are:

rægl 28. 3; *hrægl* 17. 2 etc. (11); *spaðl* 27. 30.

The Ps. has *-el* (= *-il* causing umlaut), in other cases both *-ul* and *-el* (*-ul* usually in the uninflected, *-el* in the inflected forms, cf. Zeuner p. 59); Rit. has *-el*, often *-il* (= *il*), otherwise *-ul*, *-ol*, only once *-el* (cf. Lindelöf, pp. 48, 49); the Corpus Gl. has chiefly *-el*, but often *-il* (cf. Dieter, p. 45).

l) The gradation *ur-er* (excluding *-os*, *-es* stems, s. above, § 1. a). The vowel is in part old, in part secondary or auxiliary (for O. WS. s. Cosijn, pp. 125, 139). R' has *-er*, often *-or*, *-ur*.

-er appears in: *æfter* (15); *-ere* (1); *-era* (2); (abbreviated) *æft-* (18); *hider* (4); *þider* (2); *nifer* (9); *nider* 11. 23; *hwider* 8. 19; *ofer* (18); *-eru*; *-ere* etc. (s. Pt. I. § 11); *hwæþer* (4); *hweþer* (2); *under* (5); *ofer* (31); *cæfer-* 26. 3. 58; *-e* 26. 69; *fewer* 16. 10, (cf. Cosijn, p. 128); *sumer* 24. 32; *winter* 9. 20; *suner* (grex) 8. 30. 32; *eower* (30); once *eowor* 9. 11; only *-or* in *sundor* 14. 13. 14; (abbreviated) *sund-* 17. 1; *-ur* in *elcur* 6. 1; 9. 17; *wæt(er)* appears only abbreviated or with syncope.

In the following words the vowel is secondary and appears as *o* or *u*, seldom *e*:

aldor (10); *aldur* (16); *swiðor* (6); *wuldor* 4. 8; 16. 27; *morþur* 15. 19; 19. 18; *wundur* 21. 15; *-lic* 21. 42; *sylfur* 10. 9; *-er* occurs in *hunger* 24. 7; *snotter* 24. 45, other cases of this word show syncope.

The Ps. has chiefly *e* for the old, *u* for the secondary vowel (cf. Zeuner, pp. 60, 61); Rit. has *-er*, *-ir*; *-or*, *-ur*, with occasional interchange of *-ir*, *-ur* etc. (cf. Lindelöf, p. 49); Corpus has *-er*, only once *-ir* (cf. Dieter, p. 46).

m) The nouns of relationship, which in R' have *-er* throughout, will be found under Inflection.

n) The suffix *-els*, *-ils* (= *-isl*) appears in:

gyrdels 3. 4; 10. 9; *recils* 2. 11.

o) The second syllable of certain loan-words:

-ic is preserved in *cælic* (4), *calic* (1), (cf. Pt. I. p. 28 c); for *-es* in *ælmesse* 6. 3; *ælmes* 6. 4 occurs once *-is*, *ælmisse* 6. 2, (cf. Pog. § 237).

p) Other suffixes occurring in R', e. g., *-ere* (*-âri*), *-sum*, *-isc* require no special mention.

The vowels in the second member of compounds have been sufficiently treated in Pt. I.,

e. g., *-geard*, *-weard* (s. I. p. 21); *-ærn*, *-ern*, *-fæst*, *-fest* (s. I.

pp. 14. 15); *-fald* (s. I. p. 22); *-wiht* (s. I. § 25 d) wice contracted, *nohte* 5. 13; *næht* 23. 16; *-ðēow* in *lareu* etc. (s. I. § 23 b); *-bed* etc. in *wibed* (s. I. § 52).

Prefixes.

§ 2. The following prefixes occur in R' : *ā-*, *ǣ-*, *or-*, *æt-*, *æft-*, *el-*, *of-*, *æf-*, *on-*, *ond-*, *and-*, *in-*, *un-*, *upp-*, *ut-*, *ymb-*, *be-*, *bi-*, *ge-*, *to-*, *for-*, *fore-*, *forth-*, *mis-*, *þurh-*, *wip-*, *wiper-*. Most of these have been included under the respective vowels in Pt. I.

Here it is only necessary to single out the following for special mention:

ā- (older *ur-*, Got. *us-*) occurs frequently as *a-* (169), but *ā-* (8); the accented form *or-* occurs once, *orsorge* 28. 14; *ǣ* appears in *ærīste* 22. 23. 28. 30. 31.

in- is not common. It is found only about 15 times, chiefly in the verb *ingann* interchanging with *on-* (10 *in-*, 6 *on-*). In general *and-*, *ond-*, appears in nouns, *on-* in verbs (cf. Zeuner p. 63 g), but there are occasional exceptions, e. g., *andfoa* 11. 14; *ondfoað* 17. 25; *-foað* 21. 21; *-fōþ* 26. 26; *-foeþ* 18. 5 (2), beside 16 forms with *on-*; and *ondfeng* 25. 16; *-on* 17. 24, but 17 forms with *on-*; on the other hand *onswarade* 21. 24. 27; 13. 11, but 7 times *and-*, 21 times *ond-*.

un- is written *vn-* in 10. 26; 9. 12. *on-* has become *a-* (as in WS.) in *awæg* (8); *aweg* (2). *ge-* is never written *gi-* in R', and *to-* remains unchanged in all cases, Ps. and Corpus have *ge-*; Rit. chiefly *gi-*, also *ge-* (cf. Zeuner, p. 62. a, n. 1; Dieter, § 29; Lindelöf, § 26).

Syncope of Middle Vowels.

The laws for the syncope of middle vowels in O.E. established by Sievers (cf. Sievers, zur Accent- und Lautlehre der germ. Spr. p. 21 ff.; also Beitr. IV and V) are observed in R' with comparatively few exceptions.

§ 3. »Every middle vowel of a trisyllabic word, when originally short, and not rendered long by position, is syncopeated after a long radical syllable«. (Cook's tr. of Sievers' gr., § 144).

R' shows the following cases:

a) Before *l*:

The oblique cases of *dēoful* (5), *engel* (13); *lgtel* (2), *middel* (5)

sdwol (6), and the single forms; *dégles* 10. 26; *ewyrdlu* 16. 26; *idla* 5. 22; *ðonclum* 11. 25; altogether 35 with syncope, no exceptions.

b) Before *r*:

The oblique cases of *bróðer* (7), *ceaster* (30), *éower* (33), *ðper* (23), *snotter* (9), *ðeoster* (9), *winter* (2) and the single forms: *feowre* 24. 31; *finpre* 23. 4; *næfræ* 7. 23; 26. 33; *cildra* 21. 16; *hungrig* 21. 18; *myrðra* 22. 7; *wuldre* 6. 29; *snyttro* 12. 42; *snytru* 11. 19. The exceptions noted are: *alduras* 26. 3; *alduræs* 27. 62; *oþere* 13. 5; 24. 41 (2, nom. s. f.); *oþeru* 12. 13; 24. 41 (fem. and neut. forms in -u are regularly excepted in O.E., cf. Siev. gr., § 144 b), altogether 123 cases with syncope, 7 without. Comparatives and the *r*-cases of adjectives are excepted from the enumeration, as having syncope regularly, but *middere* 25. 6 occurs.

c) Before *m*:

The obl. cases of *wæstem* (9), also *ytmaest* 22. 13; -e 8. 12; 12. 45, but without syncope the comp. *fultume* 15. 25 (cf. Zeuner, § 23. III. 4, Lindelöf p. 54).

d) Before *n*:

the obl. cases of *dryhten* (17), *wolcen* (3) and the single forms *fæmne* 1. 23; *femnan* 25. 1. 7. 11; *mærgne* 21. 18; *marne* 6. 30 (from *morgen*), but *mergenne* 16. 3; *ticnum* 25. 32 (from *ticcen*); altogether, with syncope 27, without, 1. The inflected forms of past participles from strong verbs are less regular; with syncope: *gefongnae* (ac. p.) 4. 24; *forletne* (ac. s. f.) 5. 32; (nom. p.) 9. 2; -ae (nom. pl.) 9. 5; *eknum* 24. 19; without syncope: *agene* (ac. s. n.) 27. 31; *abolgenne* (nom. p. m.) 20. 24; 21. 15; *druncennu(m)* 24. 49; *ahongenne* (nom. p. m.) 27. 38. 44; *aworpenne* (nom. p. n.) 8. 12; altogether, with syncope 5, without syn. 7.

To these must be added the ac. s. mas. of adjectives inflected strong which regularly shows syncope, e. g., *blindne*, *gecuðne* etc.

e) Before *s*:

Forms of *bletsian* (5), *geclænsian* (9), *eorsian* (2), *miltisian* (10), and the single forms: *halsio* 26. 63; *boensendu* 20. 20; *neosadun* 25. 36; *ricsade* 2. 22; *geunrotsed* 14. 9; altogether 31 cases of syncope, no exception.

f) Before *d*:

The obl. cases of *heafud* do not occur in R'. Here belong the preterits and the inflected past participles of weak verbs (Class. I) which have long stems. In general these verbs have syncope; for a list of them, see under Inflection. The following exceptions occur: *abælgede* 26. 8; *bebyrgedun* 14. 12; *gecerrede* 13. 15, (but *gecerde* 2. 22; 9. 22; *cerdun* 2. 12); *fylgedun* 19. 2, (but *fylgdun* 9. 27); *gleosede* 28. 20; altogether there are 182 cases of syncope, and only 5 without.

Of course the following are excepted (cf. Siev. gr., § 405. 5): *afróðe-frede* 5. 4; *hyngrede* etc. (9); *wuldradun* 9. 8; *wundrade* etc. (12); *timbrade* etc. (4).

g) Before *g*:

The obl. cases of adjectives in -ig, *kræftgu* 2. 1; *kraftgu(m)* 2. 7. 16; *ængum* 18. 19; 22. 16; *nængum* 8. 4; 16. 20; but *ænigum* 19. 3; *nænegum* 17. 9; (*nænegu* 13. 38 is excepted as neut. pl. in -u); *halgu(m)* 12. 32; *eadige* 13. 16; *stanige* 13. 20; forms of the weak vb. *hålgian* (8), and *syngige* 18. 15 show syncope, but *scyldigat* 6. 12; altogether, the ratio is 17:6.

h) Before *t*:

Only *emetig* 12. 44 (= *æmetig*, Kluge, wb.).

§ 4. »A vowel long by position is usually protected against the operation of syncope«. (Cook's tr. of Sievers' gr., § 145). R' regularly preserves the vowel except in the superlative of *nêah* (the only other exceptions noted are *hæþne*, *riftra*, -um, *mynetæ*):

e. g., *haligra* 27. 52; *lytilra* 18. 10; (*lytlera* 18. 6, with metath.); *men-nisce* 12. 41; *nænigne* 17. 8; *æreste* 23. 6 etc. (8); *wyrresta* 12. 45, but *nehsta* 21. 37; *nehstum* 19. 19 etc. (12). The superlative of *hêah* does not occur. So likewise *æftere* (= -erra) 22. 39; -a 21. 31; 27. 64; *yttierre* 25. 30; -æ 22. 13; *wundurlic* 21. 42; *degullice* (4); *byrgenne* (13); *woestenne* 3. 1; 4. 1; *æfenne* 27. 57; *efenne* 28. 1; 16. 2; *westinne* 3. 3; *węstene* 24. 26 etc. (6); *hæðenna* 18. 17; *hæðene* 6. 7, but *hæþne* 23. 15 with syncope; verbs in -ettan, *bilketto* 13. 35; *roketto* 13. 35. The mas. suffix -ære has a long vowel (cf. Kluge, -arja bildungen, Stammh. §§ 8, 9) which is regularly preserved, e. g., *fisceras*, *leornere* etc., but *riftra* 13. 39; -um 13. 30; *mynetæ* 21. 12 (cf. *myneterum* 25. 27).

Present participles in -ende preserve *e*, except in contract verbs, *geseonde* 8. 18 etc.

§ 5. »After a short radical syllable this syncope does not take place«. (Cook's tr. of Sievers' gr., § 144 a).

R' has the following cases:

a) Before *l*:

cuidele 5. 44; *gegærehum* 27. 28; *gestapulad* 7. 25; *ðecele* 25. 1; and the loan-word *esules* 18. 6; *eosule* 21. 5; -a 21. 7; *micel* and *yfel* regularly show syncope as in WS. *micel* has 21 forms with syncope, 3 without: *micele* 6. 30; -u 24. 21; 28. 2 (the u- forms follow the general rule for long stems, cf. Siev. § 144 c.); *yfel* has 24 forms with syncope, and but 1 without: *yfele* 15. 19; in *yfelne* 12. 33, *micelne* 27. 60 the vowel is long by position, but *weorlde* 12. 32 occurs once (*weorulde* seven times).

b) Before *r*:

Without syncope only *weleru(m)* 15. 8; with syncope: *ætgedre* 14. 9; *hwæpre* 26. 64; *hweþre* 18. 7 etc. (6); the comparatives *bettra* 12. 12; 10. 31; *swipre* 6. 3 etc. (13); the weak verbs *niðrað* 12. 42; *niðrigað* 12. 41; *niðrad* 12. 37; 27. 3; *niðrade* 12. 7 (this vb. always without syncope in Ps., cf. Zeuner, p. 68); *gegadrade* 19. 6.

c) Before *m*:

meoduma 10. 37; 25. 45.

d) Before *n*:

heofunas 10. 7 etc. (81); *mægene* 25. 15; *mægænes* 26. 64, but *togægnæs* 27. 61 (cf. Siev. zur Accent etc., p. 37); *wacne* 14. 25; *firina* 18. 17; -æ 21. 32; -e 21. 31; *gefirinade* 27. 4, but *firnige* 18. 15; *siofuna* 22. 28.

The past participles of strong verbs having short stems: *gecorænæ* 22. 14; *gecorenan* 24. 24; -um 24. 22. 31; *acwædene* 26. 30; *forlegene* 22. 39; 16. 4; *ofslægeñe* 22. 4; *unðwegenu(m)* 15. 20; *gewilencæ* 2. 13; *awritene* 27. 37; *geworigene* 6. 31; *bewrigenes* 10. 26; once syncope, *agefnæ* 18. 25.

e) Before *s*:

ægsa 14. 26; 28. 4; *egsa* 28. 8; *axe* 3. 10 (**acusi*, cf. Siev. § 50, n. 2).

f) Before *ð*:

iguðe (s. § 1, b) 19. 20; *nigopan* 20. 5; 27. 45. 46; *waraðe* 13. 2. 48; but *fremðum* 17. 25. 26 (as in P., cf. Zeuner, p. 68 f.).

g) Before *d*:

The preterits and past participles of weak verbs (Class I) having short stems. R' has: *byrede* 12. 4; *styredun* 27. 39; *aþenede* 12. 13; 14. 31; but with syncope, as in WS., *alægde* 27. 60; -un 15. 30; *gesette* 13. 24 etc. (14); in *nacudne* 25. 38 the vowel is in position. No other cases are noted.

h) Before *g*:

There is less regularity; the obl. cases of the adj. *monig* (34) are without syncope, but *mongum* 23. 1; 26. 28; *mongu(m)* 10. 31; 20. 28; (in *monegra* 8. 30; 24. 12: *monigra* 24. 24 the vowel has position); in the sb. *mænigu* 21. 36; *menigu* 9. 23 etc. (6), but *mængu* 21. 46 etc. (5); *mengu* 22. 33 etc. (27); *hæfige* 23. 4, but *ahæfgad* 26. 43 (and with position, *hæfigra* 23. 23; *hefiglice* 13. 15); *dysige* 25. 2. 3; *dysege* 25. 8; *huniges* 3. 4; *weliga* 19. 23, but *welgan* 19. 24; *myngað* 16. 9; *gemyngad* 2. 22. Altogether 47 cases without, 40 with syncope.

i) Before *t*:

Only the foreign word *myneterum* 25. 27; *mynetræ* 21. 12 in which the vowel is shortened from original *ē* (= *i*, cf. Pog. § 207. 2).

§ 6. An »irrational« auxiliary vowel sometimes occurs in oblique cases after the analogy of uninflected forms, (cf. Siev. gr. § 148). This is not very frequent in R'.

a) Before *l*:

setulas 23. 6; *setule* 23. 2, but *settlas* 21. 12; *-settle* 27. 19; *sedle* 25. 31; 19. 28; 23. 22; *-um* 19. 28; and always *fuglas*, *gæfle*, *-es*, *hrægle*, *nægled* etc.

b) Before *r*:

fæderes 21. 31; *fædera* 23. 32, but *fædra* 23. 30; *fissere* 21. 21; otherwise regularly *swegre* 10. 35; *fēþran* 23. 37; *acras* 12. 1; *wættre* 3. 11 etc. (5).

c) Before *n*:

Always without vowel, e.g., *stæfne* 24. 31 etc. (3); *þægnas* 5. 1; *-um* 14. 2 etc. (13 forms); *regneþ* 5. 45; *æfne* 5. 47; *efne* 10. 42 etc. (5); etc.

d) Before *g*:

Only *beligus* 9. 17 (2); but *belgas* 9. 17 (2).

The cases where a vowel is introduced before *-jo*, *-wo*, etc. may be found under Inflection (cf. Siev., § 246, n. 2; § 249, n. 1. etc.).

§ 7. »When the same word contained two middle vowels, . . . the second is always syncopated without regard to the quantity of the radical syllable« etc. (Cook's tr. of Sievers' gr., § 147). R' observes this rule regularly. Examples are:

micelne 27. 60; *haligra* 27. 52; *monegra* 24. 12; etc.

Detailed comparison of other texts in the matter of syncope is, perhaps, hardly necessary. In general R' seems to adhere even more closely to the rules than the Ps., and agrees pretty well with Rit. (cf. Zeuner, pp. 65—70; Lindelöf, § 27).

The Consonants¹⁾.

1. Sonorous Consonants.

The semi-vowels.

§ 8. The semi-vowel *w*. For the Runic *wên* of the MS. Skeat has substituted *w* throughout (edition of 1887).

In a few cases (42) *u* is written for initial *w*:

uulfum 10. 16 (North. has ulf, uldor with loss of *w*, cf. Bout. glos.); uitgana 23. 30; geuitað 17. 20; fulluihte 3. 7; after another consonant: huat 16. 13; sua 5. 16; andsuari 2. 12; thuað 15. 2; unaduescendlice 3. 12; cuidele 5. 44; quartern 25. 39; and 29 times cu-, twice qu-, in the pret. of the vb. cuman (but 41 cw-, 11 c-, with loss of *w*, s. I. § 47). WS. has quite often *u* for *w* after an initial cons. (cf. Cosijn, § 147).

Only once is *uu* found for *w*: uuiltu 26. 17.

a) Initial *w* in R' occurs:

α) Before all vowels, as in WS. (cf. Siev. gr., § 172):

e. g., wæs 2. 1; wearp 21. 12; warð 9. 22; wesa 3. 14; weora 14. 21; wile 16. 25; wyrse 9. 16; worhte 13. 58; wuldor 4. 8, etc.

Contrary to WS. usage *w* exerts a certain influence in preventing the »breaking« of *a*, and in modifying *e* before *r* + cons. into *ea*, *æ*, (s. I. p. 80, and §§ 5, 6, 13, 19). Other cases of *w*-influence are:

1) The effect of certain consonants in R' upon preceding or following vowels has been exhibited in Pt. I. Here it will be sufficient to note the general usage of the text and point out such exceptions to WS. custom as have either not been already mentioned, or not been made prominent enough. Reference will be made to other dialects, but a detailed comparison, such as was given in Pt. I., will here be impracticable.

woestim 3. 10; awoerpep 12 24; worðum 12. 19; wutan 22. 16 etc. (5); wyrðe 10. 10 etc. (13); wyrse 9. 16 etc. (3), (cf. I., pp. 14, 36, 42, 48).

Initial *w* is lost only in compounds with *ne*:

e. g., nyle 10. 14; nellap 23. 8; nolde 27. 34; nyte 6. 3; niton 21. 27, etc. (cf. I., pp. 42, 44, 50). *w* is regularly preserved in nawiht 18. 32 etc. (4); nauwiht (with inorganic *u* before *w*) 17. 20 etc. (5), except twice: nohte 5. 13; næht 23. 16. In this compound *w* is treated as medial (s. below b, α).

β) Before the consonants *l* and *r* *w* is preserved:

e. g., whitige 23. 27; andwlitu 18. 10 etc.; awriten 4. 4 etc.; gewrigene 6. 31, etc., etc.

γ) In the combinations *cw*, *hw*, *dw*, *ðw*, *tw*, *sw*:

e. g., cwæp 2. 8; hwæs 6. 8; dwaligað 22. 29; pwah 6. 17; betwih 18. 15; swælce 18. 5, etc.

Influence of *w* on the following vowel is seen in:

swuster 12. 50; 19. 29 (but cf. swæster 13. 56).

w is lost only in:

hu 7. 14 etc. (32); tu 9. 28; 25. 32; in the pres. of the vb. *cuman* (common to all dialects), and sometimes in the pret. of the same vb., *com*, *-un* etc. (s. above and I., §§ 36, 47).

b) Medial and final *w*.

α) After vowels. After *â* (= *ai*) *w* appears as *u* always in:

saule 10. 28 etc.; -um 11. 29, (WS. has usually *w*, cf. Siev. gr. § 174. 3), also, when final, in snau 17. 2; 28. 3, introduced by analogy, cf. Siev. gr., § 174, n. 1); blau (imp.) 6. 2.

But is preserved medially in:

gecnawan 16. 3; sawen 13. 19 etc. (5), and (with inorganic *u*, indicating vocalization, as in nauwiht, s. above) sauwep 13. 37; gesauwen 13. 20. 22. 23 (cf. I. p. 68). In these verbs *w* is inorganic. According to Lindelöf (p. 59 α) *w* is »einfach als hiatusstilgender Consonant eingeschoben«; cf. also the explanation of Cosiju, (gr., I. p. 198).

w is lost in all forms of the nouns:

æ, (ae) 23. 23 etc.; sæ, sæe, saes, 4. 13; 13. 1 etc. (s. I. pp. 69, 70); wea 6. 34 (cf. Siev., § 118. n. 1).

After *ô* *w* appears in:

stowē 12. 43 etc. (once final with inorganic *u*, stouw 27. 33); prowige 26. 33 etc.

After *êa* (= Wg. *au*) *w* is preserved in:

eawan 16. 21; -eþ 23. 27 etc. (16); twice with *u* for *w*, eaude 2. 19; 16. 1; heawan 14. 2; sceawigaþ 6. 28; -enne 28. 1; gescawað 5. 8 (s. I., p. 73).

The combination Wg. *aw* becomes *êaw* (as in WS. in: feawe 7. 14 etc.; -um 25. 23 etc.; but *w* is lost in edæs 26. 31 (s. I. § 9, and cf. Lindelöf, p. 43).

Wg. *âw* (= WS. *êa*, *êaw*) appears as *eu* in:

stren 7. 3. 4. 5 (s. I., § 46).

In place of WS. *w* in the pret. ind. pl. and pret. opt. of the vb. *sêon* R' has always *g* (s. I. p. 57); in the perf. part. contraction regularly occurs (s. I. p. 40). *g* for *w* appears also in *higu* 10. 36 (= *hîwan*).

But *w* is lost or vocalized in the comp. *heorod* 24. 45; *heoredes* 13. 27.

After *êo* (= Wg. *eu*) *w* is preserved:

e. g., *eow* 6. 8 etc.; *eowic* 10. 19 etc.; *hreownisse* 21. 30 etc.; *getreowe* 9. 2 etc. (s. I. § 62).

Occasionally there is simplification of *eow* to *ew*, *iu*, *eu*, (*euw*), as in North. (cf. Siev., § 156. 5; in Rit. this is the rule, cf. Lindelöf, p. 60; cf. also Zeuner, p. 122):

iu (*vobis*) 5. 32; *ewer* 7. 11; *hrewnisse* 4. 17; *hreunisse* 3. 2; *getrewe* 24. 45.

euw is found in:

hrewnisse 11. 20. -e 21; *ge-* 21. 32; *reuwe* 18. 10; *getreuwe* 9. 22

After *êo* of the pret. in redup. verbs:

heow 26. 51, but *-heu* 27. 60; *speou* 27. 24.

êow developed from Wg. *ew*, *iw*, is found in:

treowes 3. 10; 21. 34; -um 21. 8; *peowæ* 26. 69 etc.; *feower* 16. 10 etc.; *neowe* 13. 52 etc. (cf. I., §§ 23, 31); also by analogy in nom. and acc. sg., *treow* 3. 10 etc. (9); only once *treo* (dat.) 24. 32; *ðeow* (dat.) 8. 9; *w* is lost by syncope in *wintreos* 26. 29; also in *feorpe* 14. 25; -an 5. 26; but *feowertig* 4. 2 (cf. Siev. gr., § 328).

Vocalization occurs in:

kneu (ac. sg.) 27. 29; *cneu* (ac. pl.?) 17. 14;

Simplification in:

ðewige 4. 10.

euw appears in:

treuw 12. 33; -*ðeuw* 18. 29. 33; -e 18. 31 etc.

In the second part of compounds simplification and contraction is the rule:

e. g., *lareu*, *latewas* etc. (full list of examples, I., § 23 b). In Rit. *w* is always lost in these *wo-* stems (cf. Lindelöf, p. 61).

I fail to find in R' the forms *cnéo*, *cnéom*, *tree*, *tréona* cited by Sievers (s. gr., § 250. 2).

β) After consonants. R' has *w* after consonants in the following words:

arwunga 10. 8 etc.; *bearwes* 21. 1; 24. 3; 26. 30; *gearwe* (nom. p. m.) 24. 44; 25. 10; *iarwan* 26. 17 etc. (14 forms); *gearwunga* 27. 62; *naarwe* 7. 13; *spearwas* 10. 29 etc., (s. I. pp. 20, 21); *herwep* 6. 24; *merwe* 24. 32; *melwæs* 13. 33; *frētweþ* 23. 29; *fretwan* 25. 7; *gefrētwad* 12. 44; but *widuwana* 23. 14, as in WS. (cf. Siev., § 156. 4) instead of *widw-* (cf. Zeuner, p. 74; Lindelöf, p. 61).

w is lost in the following:

gegeradue 22. 11; *ungeredun* 27. 31; *gegærelum* 27. 28 (cf. Co-sijn I. p. 197); *smere* 6. 17; *-nisse* 26. 12 etc.; *bismerene* 20. 19 etc. (s. I. p. 36); *wælede* 27. 60; 28. 2; *scade* (dat.) 4. 16 (cf. Siev., § 260).

Vocalization of final *w* takes place in:

gearo (nom. s.) 26. 41; *iare* (nom. s.) 22. 8; *iara* (nom. p. n.) 22. 4; *naru* (nom. s. n.) 7. 14.

For the influence of *w*, or cons. + *w*, on preceding vowels in certain cases s. I., p. 80, and §§ 5, 13, 43 etc.

§ 9. The semi-vowel *j* (*g*).

a) Initial *j* appears in R' as *g* in:

ge (vos) 12. 7 etc. (67); *ge* (conj.) 12. 8. 50; 10. 28; 13. 12; *gæ* (adv.) 17. 25; *gif* 16. 24 etc. (59); *geþ* 28. 14; perhaps in the advs. *gen* 19. 20; *get* 24. 6; 27. 63; *-a* 15. 16; 18. 16; 24. 24 (cf. Academy, Dec. 19. 1891; Mod. Lang. Notes, April and May 1892); with palatal influence on the following back vowel in: *geond* 4. 23 etc. (7); *begeonda* 4. 25.

In other cases, with two exceptions, it appears as *i*:

iu- 5. 21, (but *gû-* 5. 27. 33); *iungæ* 19. 20; *-e* 19. 22; *iuguðe* 19. 20 (cf. I. § 38 e); *ioc* 11. 29; *Ioc* 11. 30; *Iara* (olim) 11. 21. This lack of pal. infl. seems to be a special characteristic of Mercian.

Of course *i*, *I*, occurs regularly in proper names of foreign origin:

iacob 8. 11 etc. *iesus* 4. 7 etc.; *iohannes* 9. 14 etc.; *ionas* 12. 41 etc.; *iordane* 4. 15 etc.; *iudas* 27. 3 etc.; *indeum* 28. 15 etc.; *Ioseph* 1. 19 etc.

b) Medial and final *j*. Medial *j* is preserved (as *i*, *g*, *ig*) in OE. only after short stems ending in *r*, and after stems ending in a vowel. R' has *g* (5 *ig*) in the following forms:

After *r*:

ferganne 5. 41; hergas 22. 7; *herigas* 26. 53; styrgan 23. 4; *swerigæ* (opt. s.) 5. 36; -e (inf.) 26. 74; swerge (opt. p.) 5. 34.

After *f* in the dialect forms (cf. Siev. § 416 n. 2):

lifgaþ 4. 4; lifgende 26. 63 (2); -a 16. 16; -ra 22. 32 (cf. Zeuner, p. 75).

After vowels in:

cegan 22. 3; cegende 8. 29; *ceigde* 20. 25; cegde 14. 30 etc., (s. I. § 61); fiegap 24. 10; fiegæ 5. 44; gefreoge 27. 43. 49; *ðreiga* (inf.) 16. 22 (cf. I. p. 75).

But before *i* germ. *j* is lost, hence in pres. ind. 3 sg.:

fiað 6. 24; swæraþ 23. 18; sweraþ 23. 16 etc. (8 forms); leofaþ 9. 18; but cægeþ 15. 23 preserves *j*.

Final *j* appears only in:

hðeg 6. 30; 14. 19.

For the vocalic *i*, *ig* of weak verbs (Cl. II.) see Inflection.

The Liquids.

r, *l*.

§ 10. In R', as in WS., *r* occurs as an initial, medial and final consonant, also geminated and in combination with other consonants:

e. g., reht 20. 4; lore 5. 29; bæra 8. 17; eorra 18. 34; feorr 15. 8; bryde 25. 1; dryge 12. 43; gegripan 21. 35; hræpe 5. 25; treow 3. 10; ðrymme 24. 30; awriten 4. 4 etc.; geard 21. 33; þærf 9. 12; eorpe 6. 10, etc.

r is lost only in:

foletende (= for-) 4. 20, (often lost in prefix for- in WS., cf. Cosijn, § 143).

The vb. sprecaþ 12. 34 etc. always preserves *r* (26 forms), as in Ps. and Rit. (cf. Zeuner § 30; Lindelöf p. 90), but in Kent *r* is early lost in this word (cf. Zupit. Kt. gl., p. 12); occasionally in WS. (cf. Siev. § 180), but not in OWS. (cf. Cosijn, II., § 94. 6).

Rarely inorganic *r* is introduced by anticipation or analogy:

geþriostra 27. 45, but þeostra 25. 30 etc. (7); Iarward (= gearwad) 20. 23; ge- 25. 41.

Substitution of *l* for *r* takes place (by dissimilation) in: *blopræ* 1. 2; of *r* for *n* in *forlegernisse* (= -ennisse) 19. 9.

Metathesis of *r* occurs in R' not only when *r* precedes a vowel followed by *nn* or *s* + cons., as in WS., but also sometimes in the converse direction before *ht*, as in North. (cf. Siev. § 179):

a) Before *nn*: *arn* 27. 48; *urnon* 8. 28; -en 8. 24; *eornende* 28. 8; *beornende* 13. 42; *beornane* 13. 30; *beornað* 5. 15; *forbernde* 22. 7; -*ærn* (in *carkærn*, *berern* etc.) 25. 36 etc. (cf. I., p. 14), once *car-crænnæ* 25. 44;

b) Before *s* + cons.: *toberst* 27. 51; -eþ 9. 17; but *brustæn* 27. 51; (*græs*- 3. 4 before single *s*; WS. *gærs*, cf. Cosijn I. p. 7; Siev. § 79. n. 2).

Metath. occurs before *g* in: *tinterga* 8. 29 (cf. Cosijn I. p. 45).

In *ðefra* (= *ðerfa*) 26. 17 metath. may be due to the influence of the familiar comb. *fr*.

c) Before *ht*: *frohtade* 14. 30; -un 27. 54: *frohtende* 25. 25; but *forhtige* 28. 5; -aþ 10. 31; *forhtap* 14. 27.

d) In *weleru(m)* 15. 8 (got. *wairilo*) there is metath. of another kind, i. e., exchange of place between *r* and *l* (cf. Paul, Princ. d. Sprachg., 2^d ed., p. 59).

Medial *r* in OE. often corresponds to Germ. *z* (cf. Siev., § 181. 2). R' has:

e. *g.*, *eare* 10. 27; *geheran* 13. 15; *forloren* 15. 24; *reord* 26. 73; *mara* 12. 6, etc.

Gemination of medial *r* occurs in:

cerraþ 24. 18; *cerre* 10. 13; *cerrede* (by anal. of short stems) 13. 15, but (with simplification) *cerde* 2. 22 etc. (3); *feorran* 26. 58; 27. 55; -ne 23. 14; *afirred* 9. 15 etc. (3); *afyrred* 25. 29; *fearras* 22. 4; *steorra* 2. 2. 7. 9; -an 2. 10; 24. 29; *eorra* (*rr* = *rz*) 18. 34; -e 2. 16 etc. (3); *wyrresta* (by assimilation); and the comparatives: *ærran* (= *rz*) 27. 64; *erran* 12. 45; *diorre* 6. 26; *nærra* 21. 31; *ytterre* 25. 30; -æ 22. 13; with single *r*, only *æftera* 21. 31.

Gemination of final *r* is simplified in:

unfeor 8. 30; but *feorr* 15. 8; *gecer* 26. 52; *rr* is preserved in *torr* 21. 33.

The »breaking« of *a*, *e* before *r* + cons. is the rule in R'. For exceptions see I., §§ 5, 13, 19.

§ 11. *l* occurs in R' in all positions:

e. *g.*, *loc* 5. 36; *scule* 6. 7; *elne* 6. 27; *ald* 9. 16; *hæl* 14. 30

etc.; also geminated and in cons. combinations: e. g., helle 5. 22; eall 1. 22 etc.; blæcne 5. 36; clæne 5. 8; flod 24. 39; hleonede 26. 20; pleagade 14. 6; slep 25. 5; wlitige 23. 27 etc.

Methathesis of *l* occurs in:

gyrdels (= isl) 3. 4; 10. 9; recils 2. 11 (cf. also II §. 10 d).

Inorganic *l* occurs by anticipation in:

fluglas (= fuglas) 13. 32.

Final vocalic *l* appears in:

rægl 28. 3; hrægl 17. 2 etc. (12); spaðl 27. 30; templ 12. 5. 6; 27. 5. 40; in other cases a vowel is developed, e. g., sætil 23. 6 (cf. II, § 1. k).

Gemination of medial *l* occurs, of course, before Germ. *j* which is then lost,

e. g., elles 6. 1; helle 11. 23; sellap 5. 34, etc.

Older gemination appears in:

ealle 2. 3 etc.; gallan 27. 34; stalle 6. 5; fallen 15. 14 etc. (18 forms); fellen (skin) 3. 4; godspelles 4. 23 etc.; scilling 17. 27 etc.; fulle 14. 20 etc.; gefylled 12. 17, etc.; *ll* for *l* by anal. with other forms is found in the pres. ind. 3 sg. of sellan, e. g., sellep 7. 11 etc. (8), see inflections.

Before a consonant simplification of *ll* to *l* usually takes place (cf. Cosijn § 139):

e. g., alra 6. 32 etc.; fulne 10. 42; synfulra 26. 45; fultume 15. 25; but *ll* remains in:

fullra 11. 19; fullwiht (as comp.) 21. 25; gefylldæst 21. 16 (but fylde 15. 37; 27. 48); fyllnisse 9. 16.

Final *ll* is preserved in:

eall, all (52); gefeoll 7. 25. 27; bispell 21. 33 etc. (3); godspell 24. 14; but *godspel* 26. 13; WS. has often *l* for final *ll* (cf. Cosijn, I. p. 185 ff.).

Breaking of *a* before *l* + cons. is not the rule in R'.

The ratio of *a* to *ea* is 12: 5 (cf. I., § 6).

The Nasals.

m, n.

§ 12. The labial nasal *m* occurs in all positions in R', as in WS.:

e. g., mon 9. 16; sumer 24. 32; cwom 4. 13 etc.; also medially in the combs. *mp*, *mb* and before *n*: e. g., gelamp 11. 1; cempa 8. 9; wombe 12. 40 etc.; to- somne 10. 1.

mn for *fn* occurs in:

stemn 3. 3. 17; 12. 19, but stæfn 17. 5 etc. (5), s. I. p. 31.

m is lost before *f* in:

fif 16. 9 etc. (cf. Siev. § 186).

Gemination of *m* before Germ. *j* appears in:

fremme 19. 18 etc.; þrymmes 25. 31 etc.

Older Gemination in:

grimme 8. 28; hwommes 21. 42; -um 6. 5.

Final *mm* is not found; final *m* is preserved in the 1 sg. pres. ind.:

beom 9. 21 etc. (3); dom 19. 16; 27. 22; gedom 4. 19 (so Ps. and Rit., cf. Zeuner p. 92; Lindelöf p. 101);

but lost in:

do 20. 13; 21. 24; also in prep. fro 27. 51 (cf. I. § 4), probably only by omission of the abbreviation for *m*, common in the MS.

n for final *m* (cf. Siev. § 187) occurs in:

æln-, eldran 26. 47; 27. 12;

m for final *n* by mistake in:

gebohtum (pret. pl.) 27. 9.

§ 13. *n* is the dental and also the guttural and palatal nasal in OE. As dental nasal it is common in all positions in R':

e. g., nyte 7. 16; noma 1. 21; tune 26. 6; con 11. 27, etc. and in cons. combinations: cneht 2. 9; snottre 25. 2; gebond 14. 3 etc.

As guttural and palatal nasal before *c*, *g*:

e. g., þencende 5. 25; sincan 14. 30; longe 25. 40; þinge 5. 32; breng 8. 4.

Gemination of *n* before Germ. *j*:

e. g., henne 23. 37; cynne 13. 47; synne 9. 5 etc.

Older gemination:

monnes 20. 18; onginnap 24. 49; -panne- 27. 33; spinnap 6. 28; winnap 6. 28; innan 23. 28; binnan 23. 26; innope 1. 18. 23; hwanne (adv.) 13. 15 etc. and by syncope: minne 8. 8; þinne 5. 40 etc.

Gemination is unjustifiable in:

neowenne (adv.) 9. 16; ponne (ac. s. m.) 17. 27.

Simplification of *nn* to *n* takes place often in the inflec. infin. (cf. Siev. § 363):

breccane 5. 17; cweþane 9. 5; bimerene 20. 19; sellane 22. 17;

healdene 16. 12; 28. 20; beornane 13. 30; cumene 24. 48; niomane 15. 33; nimene 24. 18.

Occasionally in other forms:

gebundene (ac. s. m.) 27. 2; wēstene 24. 26 (but 5 *nn*, s. I. § 54); hæðene 6. 7; smirenisse (smer-) 26. 7. 12, (smerennis 2. 11); forlegenisse 19. 9; -læg- 21. 32; -legnisse 21. 31; cunun 20. 25 (but 7 *nn*); þone (conj.) 27. 64.

Final *nn* is sometimes simplified, but is often preserved:

conn 26. 72 (3 times con); -gonn 11. 20 etc. (3); -gann 4. 17 (5 -gon, -gan); monn 20. 1 etc. (31), but mon (7); menn 12. 13 etc. (21); inn (adv.) 7. 13; 22, 11. 12; 23. 13; blan 14. 32; of course arn 27. 48.

Final *n* is often lost, as in North. (cf. Siev., §. 188; Lindelöf, § 33) in:

Nouns and adjectives inflected weak (about 245); infinitives (38); opt. pl., pres. and. pret. (49, ten in vb. *sie*; for examples s. Inflection); perf. part. (3); ge-, un-bunde 16. 19; lore 5. 30; pret. ind. pl. (2): æt-eawde 13. 26; reordade 19. 4; adverbs in -an (6): binne 23. 25; innæ 24. 26; beniuþa 2. 16; pende 17. 5. 22; -i 1. 20, the numeral twege 5. 41; 18. 20, (28 times -en).

On the other hand inorganic final *n* occurs rarely (4) by anal. in the nom. sg. of weak nouns:

cuman 25. 43; egan 20. 15; eagan 18. 9; lichoman 26. 26 (but 6 lichoma).

Inorganic *n* is introduced,

by anticipation in: *constungae* 6. 13 (cf. *costunge* 26. 41); by influence of pres. part. in *fylgendun* (pret. pl.) 4. 25; by influence of *onettan* in *onrettæ* 22. 6.

n is lost in:

asægnisse 9. 13 (cf. *aweg* 16. 4 etc.); by error of scribe in *widende* 27. 29 (= wind-).

Before spirants, *ð*, *s* (cf. Siev., § 185) in:

soþ 3. 9 etc.; tōp 5. 38 etc.; oþer 2. 12 etc.; swiðor 12. 12 etc.; cuðe 26. 74 etc.; muð 12. 34 etc.; suþan 12. 42; ypum 14. 24 etc.; us 6. 11 etc.

For the effect of *m* and *n* on preceding vowels s. I. §§ 4, 12, 26, 36, 47.

2. Non-sonorous Consonants.

Labials.

§ 14. The surd labial stop *p*.

Initial *p* is rare in words of Germ. origin, except in the comb. *sp*.

R' has *p* in:

panne 27. 33; plagadun 11. 17; pleagade 14. 6; *sp* in: sprec 14. 27 etc.; -spell 11. 5 etc.; spittende 27. 30 etc., etc.

Words of foreign origin:

punde 10. 29; preoste 8. 4; pytt 12. 11; proper names: petrus 4. 18; pilatus 27. 58 etc.; *p* seems to stand for *b* in prod-, prot-bore 11. 16; 20. 3 (of ON. or OCel. origin, cf. Oxford Dic., *Brod*).

Medial and final *p* is more common:

e. g., ripes 25. 24; stopen 28. 9; wurpon 21. 39; gelimpeþ 18. 13; tempel 21. 12; slep 25. 5; wôp 8. 12; gelamp 19. 1 etc., etc.

In foreign proper names *p* sometimes stands for Lat. *ph*;

e. g., iosep 2. 13 etc. (6); -e 1. 16.

Gemination occurs only in:

græs-hoppa 3. 4; steppan (passus) 5. 41 (by anal. with vb. steppan; WS. has stæpas etc., cf. Cosijn, I. p. 25); and the foreign word tæppel 5. 35; -il 22. 44 (for tæpped, cf. Pog., § 73).

Final *pp* appears in:

upp 4. 16; 13. 5. 6: (prefix) 5. 45; 13. 48; 17. 27; up- 22. 23.

§ 15. The sonant labial stop *b*.

Initial *b* is common in R', as in WS.:

e. g., bældu 14. 27; borg 5. 42; beorma 13. 33 etc.; brord 13. 26; blind 15. 14 etc.

Medial and final *b* occurs geminated and in the comb. *mb*:

e. g., hebbende 17. 8; habbaþ 14. 27 etc. (47 forms); once *b* for *bb*, hæbende 4. 24; sibb 10. 12 etc.; wombe 12. 40; 15. 17; adum-bede 22. 12; symbel 26. 5; 27. 15; getimbru 24. 1 etc.; dumb 9. 32 etc.; ymb 3. 4 etc.

f regularly stands for single medial or final *b* in OE.

R' has:

e. g., hæfeþ 9. 6 etc.; ahofan 17. 8; deoful 4. 8 etc.; but also lifgaþ 4. 4 etc. (5 forms) for WS. libbaþ (cf. Cosijn-II. p. 193).

Older *b* is preserved in:

olbend (got. ulbandus) 19. 24; -u 23. 24; -ena 3. 4 (WS. olfend, cf. Cosijn, I. p. 70).

b, originally initial (cf. Siev., § 43 n. 4), is preserved:

in the comp. wibed 5. 24 etc. (5 forms), but with *f*: weofud 5. 23 etc. (3) s. I., § 52.

Proper names follow the Latin spelling:

e. g., abeles 23. 35; iacobus 10. 2 etc., but sometimes simplify *bb* to *b*, e. g. barrabas 27. 16. 17.

With the exception of prot-bore etc. (s. §. 14) initial and final *b* seems to be stable.

§ 16. *f* stands for the surd and for the sonant labiodental spirant in OE. (cf. Siev., § 192).

Initial *f* (surd) is common. R. has:

e. g., folc 4. 16; finde 18. 13 etc.; fleop 10. 23; freo 17. 26 etc.

Medial *f* is a surd in the comb. *ft*:

æfter 17. 1 etc. kreftgu(m) 2. 16 etc.;

and »originally« when medial or final *f* corresponds to Germ. *f*:

e. g., wulfas 7. 15; ðearf 21. 3; fif 16. 9 etc.

In other cases *f* is a spirant in R' in Germ. words:

e. g., ofer 5. 45 etc.; hlafa 16. 12 etc.; næfre 12. 7; yfle 15. 22; efulsung 12. 31 etc.; hlaf 26. 26; bedælf 25. 18 etc.

mn for *fn* occurs in stemn (s. § 12).

u = *f* spirant is found in:

wiue 1. 24 (but wife 19. 5 etc., 9 forms); always (= *v* cons.) in the proper name dauīð 12. 3 etc. (15); and in uiperana 23. 33.

f = Lat. *ph* occurs in proper names:

iosefae 1. 18 (oftener *p*, s. § 14); flippes (Lat. pilippi) 16. 13; in other cases following the spelling of the Latin text: e. g., alfeȝs 10. 3; caifan 26. 57; fariseas 16. 1 etc. (28).

ph = Lat. *ph* also occurs:

philippus 10. 3; -es 14. 3; capharnaum 17. 24 (the Lat. has *caf*-).

For the effect of *f* on preceding or following vowels s. I. p. 80, and §§ 13, 20, 25, 27.

§ 17. *t*, the surd dental stop, is common in all positions in OE. (cf. Siev., § 195). R' has:

e. g., tacen 16. 3; witan 24. 32; gemot 26. 59; treow 7. 17; twæm 2. 16; stondeþ 12. 26; eft 18. 19; næht 28. 13 etc., etc.

Gemination occurs:

e. g., sceatta (cf. got. skatts) 25. 27; mittum 13. 33 etc.; nytte 20. 3; spittadun 26. 67 etc.

Usually before *r* (cf. Siev., § 229):

bettra 10. 31; 12. 12; snotter 24. 45; snottre 13. 54 etc. (9); snyttro 12. 42, (but snytru 11. 19); wættre 3. 11 etc. (5 forms); ytterre 25. 30, (but yterræ 22. 13).

Occasionally before *l*:

settlas 21. 12; -e 27. 19 (but 7 forms with single *t*, *d*, *p*, see below);

By assimilation in the pret. of weak verbs:

e. g., groette 1. 25; gemoette 18. 28 etc. (4); but, by an opposite change, *abriodde* 22. 7.

Final *tt* is preserved:

nett 13. 47 etc. (5), un-nytt 12. 36; pytt 12. 11.

Simplification of *tt* to *t* occurs frequently:

liceteras 6. 2 etc. (6); -um 24. 51, (also 6 forms with *tt* 22. 18 etc.); nyte 7. 16 (3 nytte 20. 3 etc.); ondetu 7. 23 etc. (4 forms); haleteþ 10. 12, (but halettaþ 5. 47; roket-to 13. 35); gesete (l. sg. pres. ind.) 25. 23, (2 sette, 12. 18 etc.); setun (pret. pl.) 23. 2; 15. 35 (but settun 27. 29. 37).

d + *ð* gives *t*, as in WS. (cf. Siev., § 359. 3) in:

bit (3 sg.) 7. 8 (but biddeþ 7. 10); the comp. latuwas 23. 24 etc. (s. I., § 23 b), but latteuw 2. 6.

t + *þ* gives *t*, of course, after a cons. in: uuiltu 26. 17; wiltu 13. 28; 20. 21; (but arpu 11. 3; cf. earð 6. 9).

Gemination is unjustified in:

sitteþ (3 sg.) 19. 28. 29 (anal. with pl.); gesette (imp. s.) 9. 18; setteþ (3 sg.) 9. 16; 24. 47, (but seteþ 21. 41 etc.); settnisse 15. 2. 3. 6 (3 set- 13. 35 etc.); gefætted 13. 15; metta 26. 17, (7 mete 24. 45 etc.); ðrittig 27. 9, (but pritig 13. 8. 23); geatt 7. 13, (but geate 7. 13. 14); sætt (pret. 3. sg.) 4. 16; 26. 55. 69; sett 15. 29 etc. (4), (but 3 sæt 24. 3 etc.).

tl becomes *ðl*, as in North., (cf. Siev., § 196. 2), in:

spaðl 27. 30; seþel 5. 34, (but sætil 23. 6, and 3 *t*, 4 *d* in obl. cases, see I. p. 31).

t stands for final *þ*, *th*, (common in Corpus, cf. Dieter, § 41) in:

the verbs: *scyldigat* 6. 12; *swerat* 23. 22; *ræccet* 2. 6; *soecet* 12. 39 (but 3 -eþ 7. 8 etc.); *neolicet* 4. 17, (4 -eþ 10. 7 etc.); *ad-wæscet* 12. 20; *gehnyscet* 21. 44;

the proper name *nazaret* 4. 13. (but -eþ 2. 23; 21. 11);

for initial *th* (indicating the pronunciation):

tomas 10. 3; *taddeus* 10. 3.

ð for final *t* (in WS.) in:

earð 6. 9 (but 10 *eart* 14. 33 etc., cf. Siev. § 427. 1).

t stands for *d*, before and after surds (cf. Siev. § 198. 4), in:

sint 5. 12 etc. (6); *prot-bore* 20. 3 (but *prod-* 11. 16); *blotsade* 26. 26; *ge-* 25. 34; *gebloetsad* 21. 9; 23. 39 (but *bledsade* 14. 19; *miltsa* 20. 30 etc. (9 forms), but *t* is lost (cf. Siev. § 196 n. 3; Zeuner § 46. 2) in *milsade* 14. 14.

Lat. *t* is preserved (cf. Lindelöf, § 38 anm.) in:

lat(in) 27. 46, (WS. *Læden*, cf. Cosijn, I. § 63); but becomes *d* in: *ecedes* 27. 48 (cf. Pog. § 319); of course *mynetræ* 21. 12 etc., as regularly in OE. (cf. Pog. § 318).

§ 18. *d* is the sonant dental stop in OE. It is common in all positions. *R'* has:

e. g., *dure* 6. 6 etc.; *seda* 13. 32; *gôd* 7. 11 etc.; *drincande* 20. 22; *dwale* 6. 24; *stondeþ* 12. 26; *gebond* 14. 3; *hald* 19. 17; *geard* 21. 33; *adle* 9. 35 etc.

Geminated:

biddan 6. 8 etc.; *bedde* 9. 2 etc.; *bewedded* 1. 18; *midden-* 16. 26 etc.; in the proper name *taddeus* 10. 3 (Lat. text *thatheus*).

d + *d* = *dd* in the pret. of weak verbs:

e. g., *læddon* 26. 57; *hydde* 13. 33 etc., etc.; but *t* + *d* = *dd* in *abriodde* (cf. § 17).

Final *dd* is preserved in:

bedd 9. 6.

Simplification of *dd* to *d* appears in:

bidap (pl.) 20. 22 (8 *biddap* 21. 22 etc.); of course in *sendon* 22. 16 etc. (cf. Siev. § 198. 5). Usage varies in the foreign word *saducea* 3. 7 etc. (3), but *sadducea* 16. 6 etc. (3), though the Latin text has a single *d* in every case.

Gemination is unjustifiable in:

togebëdd (pret. sg.) 8. 2; *bedd* (pret. sg.) 18. 26; following the present forms, (but 3 *bed*, 2 *bæd*, 1 *gebëd*, see I., p. 14); *biddeth* (3. sg.) 7. 10; *bidde* (imp.) 6. 6; *gebiddes* (2. sg.) 4. 9, these after anal. of the pl.

d for *ð* in the following is probably due to neglect of the scribe in crossing *d*, scarcely to older usage (cf. Siev. § 199. n. 1):

eordu 23. 15; -an 18. 18 (but 38 forms with *ð*, *p*); dead (sb.) 2. 15; 10. 21; 26. 66; -e 4. 16; 20. 19 (but 9 forms with *ð*, *p*); cræd (cantet) 26. 34. 75; geweorðæd (3. sg.) 13. 22; cymid (3. sg.) 24. 42; dægne 5. 25 (but 8 forms with *ð*, *p*); nider (infl. of *þider*) 11. 23, (8 times with *ð*, *p*).

dm for *ðm* in:

eadmedap 18. 4, eadmod 11. 29 is also found in LWS. (cf. Siev., § 201. n. 3).

dz for *ðs* occurs in:

bædzere 16. 14; 17. 13 (but bæzere 11. 11 etc., cf. I., p. 28).

On the other hand *ð*, *p* for *d*, medial and final, is quite frequently found:

In the perf. parts.: nemnep 5. 19; genægeþ 23. 12, (cf. Lindelöf, § 38); in the prets. without gramm. change: wyrðon (ind.) 10. 6; wyrðe (opt.) 24. 22; in other words: þune 4. 8 (but 16 dune 5. 1 etc.); mið 9. 10 etc. (28), (but 53 mid 27. 66 etc.); hæmeþ 5. 32 (but 3 hæmed 15. 19 etc.); þusenð 14. 21 (but 6 forms with *d*); doubtful: geþo 7. 5; in the foreign proper name: dauðið 12. 3; -e 1. 17; -es 9. 27 etc. (9); dauþes 1. 20, (but dauid 22. 43. 45; -e 1. 17).

d for Lat. *t* in:

ecedes 27. 48 (cf. § 17).

For change of *d* to *t* before and after surds,

e. g., sint, prot-, etc., see § 17.

Final *d* is often, but not always, lost in the proclitic on- (= ond-) in verbs:

e. g. onfeng 25. 24 etc. (cf. I., p. 19, and II., § 2).

ld stands for older *lþ*, as regularly in OE., in:

gold 2. 11 etc.; wuldor 4. 8 etc. (cf. Siev., § 201. 2).

dl for older *ðl* in:

nedle 19. 24; adle 4. 23 etc., (cf. Siev., § 201. 3); *p* is preserved after short vowels in: gestaþulad 7. 25 (cf. Siev., § 201. n. 2).

§ 19. *ð* and *þ* represent the interdental spirant in OE., *ð* being most used in the best early MSS. and taking the place of older *th* (cf. Siev., § 199 and n.). R' shows a marked preference for *þ*, but has *th* in a few cases. Our text is plainly distinguished in this particular from Lind., Rit., Ps.,

Cura Past., Corpus, the Merc. Charters and the Minora. The relative frequency of \bar{p} and δ in R' may be seen from the following analysis:

Initial \bar{p} , δ :

In the dem. pro.: $\bar{p}\bar{a}et$, 62 \bar{p} , 1 δ ; $\bar{p}\bar{a}es$, 47 \bar{p} , 2 δ ; $\bar{p}\bar{a}ere$, 37 \bar{p} ; $\bar{p}\bar{a}em$, 164 \bar{p} , 28 δ ; $\bar{p}\bar{o}ne$, 59 \bar{p} , 2 δ ; $\bar{p}\bar{a}$, 156 \bar{p} , 8 δ ; $\bar{p}\bar{a}ra$, 41 \bar{p} , 1 δ ; all forms of $\bar{p}\bar{e}s$, $\bar{p}\bar{i}s$ etc., 132 \bar{p} , 5 δ .

In the second per. pro. δ is more common than in the dem. pro.: $\bar{p}\bar{u}$, 81 \bar{p} , 18 δ ; $\bar{p}\bar{e}$, 49 \bar{p} , 38 δ ; $\bar{p}\bar{i}n$, -es, etc., 84 \bar{p} , 9 δ ; also in the advs. $\bar{p}\bar{a}er$, 47 \bar{p} , 8 δ ; $\bar{p}\bar{u}s$, 6 \bar{p} , 1 δ ; Only \bar{p} have: $\bar{p}\bar{a}et$ (conj.), 70; $\bar{p}\bar{a}ette$, 23; $\bar{p}\bar{o}nne$, 91; $\bar{p}\bar{u}rh$, 30.

In nouns and adjectives initial δ is quite frequent: 58 \bar{p} , 35 δ ; also in verbs: 49 \bar{p} , 23 δ . But in some words δ occurs as often as \bar{p} , or oftener: e. g. $\delta reattan$ 20. 31 etc., 2 δ , 2 \bar{p} ; $\delta urfun$ 6. 32 etc., 2 δ , 2 \bar{p} ; $\delta \bar{a}egnade$ 8. 15 etc., 4 δ , 2 \bar{p} ; δwog 27. 24 etc., 2 δ , 1 \bar{p} , (1 th); $\delta yrstep$ 5. 6 etc., 2 δ , 1 \bar{p} ; $\delta rymme$ 24. 30 etc., 3 δ , 1 \bar{p} ; $\delta ryncnisse$ 24. 9 etc., 3 δ ; etc.

There is differentiation of the verbs: $\delta yncan$, 6 δ , 1 \bar{p} ; and $\bar{p}encan$, 8 \bar{p} , (s. I. §§ 12, 41, 48).

Again other words, which have surd th in Mod. E., are written always, or in most cases, with \bar{p} in R': $\bar{p}\bar{a}ece$ (thatch) 24. 17 etc., 3 \bar{p} ; $\bar{p}\bar{o}rnas$ 13. 7 etc., 4 \bar{p} , 1 δ ; $\bar{p}\bar{e}of$ 6. 20 etc., 3 \bar{p} , 2 δ ; $\bar{p}\bar{i}nge$ 5. 32 etc., 3 \bar{p} , 1 δ ; $\bar{p}\bar{r}owia\bar{p}$ 11. 12 etc., 16 \bar{p} , 1 δ , etc.

Medial \bar{p} , δ :

Usage varies in R': e. g., $\bar{b}\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{p}\bar{e}r$ 10. 2 etc., 37 \bar{p} , 2 δ ; $\bar{o}\bar{p}\bar{e}r$ 20. 21 etc., 53 \bar{p} ; $\bar{h}\bar{r}\bar{a}\bar{p}\bar{e}$ 5. 25 etc., 8 \bar{p} , 4 δ ; $\bar{s}\bar{w}\bar{i}\bar{\delta}\bar{e}$ 17. 23 etc., 9 δ , 5 \bar{p} ; $\bar{s}\bar{w}\bar{i}\bar{\delta}\bar{o}r$ 12. 12 etc., 14 δ , 5 \bar{p} ; $\bar{e}\bar{o}r\bar{\delta}\bar{e}$ 13. 5 etc., 24 δ , 14 \bar{p} ; $\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{p}\bar{e}r$ 7. 25 etc., 6 \bar{p} , 2 δ ; $\bar{e}\bar{a}\bar{\delta}\bar{e}$ 19. 26 etc., 2 δ , 1 \bar{p} ; $\bar{w}\bar{y}r\bar{\delta}\bar{e}$ 8. 8 etc., 8 δ , 5 \bar{p} ; $\bar{w}\bar{a}r\bar{a}\bar{p}\bar{e}$ 13. 2 etc., 1 \bar{p} , 1 δ ; $\bar{y}\bar{p}\bar{u}m$ 14. 24 etc., 1 \bar{p} , 1 δ ; $\bar{b}\bar{y}r\bar{\delta}\bar{e}n$ 11. 30 etc., 1 δ , 1 \bar{p} ; $\bar{s}\bar{c}\bar{a}\bar{p}\bar{e}$ 26. 55 etc., 3 \bar{p} ; $\bar{u}n\bar{b}\bar{l}\bar{i}\bar{\delta}\bar{e}$ 19. 22 etc., 2 δ ; $\bar{f}r\bar{e}m\bar{\delta}\bar{u}m$ 17. 25 etc., 2 δ ; $\bar{f}\bar{a}\bar{\delta}\bar{e}$ 14. 13; $\bar{i}u\bar{g}\bar{u}\bar{\delta}\bar{e}$ 19. 20, etc.

Final, \bar{p} , δ :

In pres. ind. and in imp.: a) in strong verbs: 271 \bar{p} , 57 δ ; b) in weak verbs: 306 \bar{p} , 76 δ ; but the ratio is different in $\bar{b}\bar{i}\bar{\delta}$ 16. 4 etc., 72 δ , 30 \bar{p} . In the pret. sg. of strong verbs: $\bar{w}\bar{e}\bar{a}r\bar{\delta}$ 22. 2 etc., 8 δ ; but $\bar{c}w\bar{a}\bar{p}$ (pres. or pret., s. § 46) 2. 8 etc., 197 \bar{p} , 3 δ .

In other words δ occurs oftener than \bar{p} : a) in particles: $\bar{w}\bar{i}\bar{\delta}$ 5. 11 etc., 29 δ , 5 \bar{p} ; $\bar{m}\bar{i}\bar{\delta}$ 9. 11 etc., 28 δ ; $\bar{f}or\bar{\delta}$ 13. 23 etc., 5 δ , 3 \bar{p} ; but $\bar{o}\bar{p}$ 18. 30 etc., 23 \bar{p} , 8 δ ; b) in nouns: $\bar{m}\bar{u}\bar{\delta}$ 12. 34 etc., 3 δ , 2 \bar{p} ; $\bar{d}\bar{e}\bar{a}\bar{\delta}$ 16. 28 etc., 6 δ , 3 \bar{p} ; $\bar{f}r\bar{i}\bar{\delta}$ 10. 12 etc., 3 δ ; $\bar{s}\bar{o}\bar{p}$ 3. 9 etc.,

30 p, 5 ð; cyþ-nisse 8. 4 etc., 5 p, 1 ð; wræð 8. 32; weorþ (adj.) 27. 9 etc., 1 p, 1 ð.

For OWS., Ps., Rit., Corpus, cf. Cosijn, I., § 148; Zeuner, § 38; Lindelöf, § 39; Dieter, § 41.

The Merc. Charters have initial ð 22; medial p 2, ð 29, (th 7, td 1, d 1); final ð 17, p 1, (th 1).

The Minora have initial p 3, ð 141, (th 3, foreign names); medial ð 42; final ð 26.

th stands for *þ*, ð, in R' in:

Germ. words: the 23. 17; thi 21. 42; thæm 7. 9; thuað 15. 2; biddeth 7. 10; ripath 6. 26; foreign prop. names (following the Lat.): e. g., bethlem 2. 5. 8. 16; bethania 26. 6; 21. 17; Matheus 9. 9 etc.; scarioth 10. 4; 26. 14, etc.; but p, ð, for Lat. *th* also occurs: ðamar 1. 3; beþfage 21. 1; arimaðia 27. 57; golgoþa 27. 33; ruð 1. 5; ð stands for *d* in: dauð 12. 3, -es 1. 1 etc. (s. § 18).

Gemination occurs:

unsceþpende 27. 24; -þð- 12. 7; opþe 5. 36 etc. (51); opþ (= opþe) 12. 5; 19. 29; eþpa 5. 17. 18; opþe 25. 39 (2). 44; hþ for þþ in the north. form mohþa 6. 19. 20, (cf. Siev., § 199. n. 2; Eng. ed., § 200 n.); gemination before *r* (cf. Cosijn, I., p. 200) is wanting, e. g., opre, hweþre (s. I., §§ 2. 11).

þ + *þ* = *þþ*, ðþ in:

seoþþan 5. 13; 26. 16; seoðþan 4. 17.

Simplification:

siðet (= sið þæt) 26. 29. The pres. ind. 3. sg. is usually preserved without contraction and simplification (cf. Cosijn, I., p. 200): weorþaþ 24. 21; -að 21. 21; -æd 13. 22; gecyþaþ 26. 73; cweþaþ 12. 32 (2); but *cwið* 15. 5.

ð + *d* gives *dd* (cf. Siev., § 201. 5):

cwiddun 11. 17; cyddun 14. 12 (but cyðdon 8. 33).

t + *t* gives *tt*:

þætte 8. 28 etc. (23); but *t* in: wiltu 13. 28 etc. (s. § 17).

Final *d* becomes ð in mið (11 times) before initial *þ*, ð, in next word:

13. 29; 18. 16; 25. 31; 26. 18 etc.; but also (14 times) mið when the next word begins with a vowel or some other cons. than p, ð: e. g., 13. 56; 19. 26 etc.

s + *þ* (in next word) gives *st*, as in WS. (cf. Siev., § 201. 6):

getwiodestu 14. 31; gesihstu 7. 3; cwepestu 7. 4.

Final *þ* is lost (cf. Siev. § 360. 2) in:

wite ge (imp.) 24. 33.

þ takes the place of *s* 13 times (infl. of obl. cases) in:

the nom. s. m. of the dem. pro.: *þe* (= *se*) 16. 3 etc.; *ðe* 17. 27.

þ, *ð* experiences gram. change to *d*:

cwæþ, *cwædon*; *wearð*, *wurdon*, but *ð* remains: 10. 6; 24. 22.

For the changes:

t for final *þ*, *ð*; *ð* for final *t*; *d* + *ð* = *t* (*tl*); *ðl* for *tl*, see § 17.

For the changes:

d for *þ*, *ð*, and the converse; *dm* for *ðm*; *dz* for *ðs*; *ld*, *dl* for Germ. *lþ*, *lð*, see § 18.

§ 20. *s*, originally a surd dental spirant, is common in all positions in OE. (cf. Siev., §§ 202, 203, 204). R' has:

e. g., *sundor* 14. 14; *sincan* 14. 30; *scade* 4. 16; *slep* 25. 5; *sniðes* 13. 55; *spaðl* 27. 30; *stigas* 3. 3; *stream* 8. 18; *swina* 8. 30; *sweord* 10. 34; *dysig* 5. 22; *þyrstigne* 25. 37; *fæste* 6. 17; *fisc* 17. 27 etc.

Gemination occurs in:

cysse 26. 48; *cnyssaþ* 7. 7; *-ande* 7. 8; the suffix *-nisse* 1. 1 etc.; the foreign word *ælmesse* 6. 3; *-isse* 6. 2 (cf. Pog., § 75); by assimilation, *ss* for *sr*: *lessa* 11. 11; *pissee* 17. 20 etc.; *-a* 18. 6 etc.

Gemination is unjustifiable in:

fæss 9. 20; 14. 36; *wæss* 2. 18 (but 129 times with *s*); *pissee* 20. 12 etc. (3); *-ere* 21. 21; *-um* 8. 9 etc. (9): *passum* 8. 32;

Foreign proper names have *ss* for *s* occasionally, following the Lat. text: *farisseas* 23. 25; *-æis* 12. 2; *-ea* 16. 6; 23. 26 (but 24 forms with *s*); *essaia* 15. 7; *-m* 4. 14; 21. 4 (but 6 with *s*).

ss is simplified to *s* in:

cneoris 17. 17; *cneuris* 16. 4; *ælmes* (s. above) 6. 4; the suffix *-nis*, Ws. *-nes(s)*, (cf. Cosijn, II. p. 28 ff): *gemnis* 22. 16; *hreanis* 16. 3; *hreornis* 8. 24; *be-hygdnis* 13. 22; *gelicnis* 22. 20; *smerennis* 2. 11; *styrennis* 28. 2; *gemænes* 27. 19; *-spyernes* 16. 23; of course before a cons.: *cyste* 26. 49; and after a cons.: *wyrse* 12. 45 etc. (3), (cf. Siev., § 180).

Metathesis of *sc* (= *hs*, *xs*, *x*) occurs in:

ahsadun 12. 10 etc. (5 forms); *axsadun* 22. 23; *-e* 22. 35; *geaxast* 19. 17 (but 3 forms with *sc* *ascaden* 17. 10 etc.); *ruxlende* 9. 23; *betwihs* 21. 25; *betwix* 20. 26; 27. 56; without metath., *ascan* (ashes) 11. 21.

Grammatical change of *s* to *r*:

geceas 12. 18; gecuron 13. 48 etc.; forleoseð 10. 39 etc.; forloren 15. 24.

st arises from *t + t* (cf. Siev., § 232 c) in:
wast 15. 12; wiste 16. 8 etc.; mostun 14. 36.

Final *s* is lost in:

foedel- (= -els) 22. 4.

Medial *s* is lost by assimilation in:

ure (pro.) 6. 12 etc. (9); -u 21. 38; -um 8. 17; 21. 42.

Inorganic *s* appears in:

asceorf 18. 8 (but aceorf 5. 30).

§ 21. *z* is occasionally used in OE. to represent the sound *ts* (cf. Siev., § 205 and n.).

R' has *z*, *dz* (= ðs) in the Germ. word:

bæzeres 11. 12 etc. (5); bædzere 16. 14; 17. 13 (cf. I. p. 28).

With this exception *z* appears only in foreign proper names:

e. g., zebedeas 4. 21 etc. (5); zabulones 4. 13. 15; zacharias 23. 35; belzebub 10. 25 etc. (3); chorazam 11. 21; gezemani (Lat. getsamani) 26. 36; nazaret 4. 13 etc. (5).

Gutturals and Palatals.

c (*k*, *q*), *g*, *h* (*x*).

§ 22. *c* (*k*, *q*, *x*) is the surd stop, both guttural and palatal in OE. (cf. Siev., §§ 206, 207; Sweet, HES. § 535). It is common in all positions and before all vowels. R' has:

e. g., carcern 5. 25; corn 17. 20; cuma 25. 35; ceke 5. 39; ceaf 3. 12; cæstra 8. 34; cild 19. 13; cirm 25. 6; cyning 14. 9; claþ 9. 16; cromum 15. 27; cnehtas 18. 3; cweru 18. 6; scua 4. 16; sceatta 25. 27; nacud 25. 36; fæce 25. 19; fisceras 4. 18; loc 5. 36; were 11. 2; hwele 12. 48; unc 20. 30 etc.

qu for *ew* occurs in:

quartern 25. 39; quom 28. 9; -on 2. 1. (cf. § 8).

K for the guttural stop *c* occurs often (130 times) in R', (cf. Siev., § 207, n. 2; Sweet, HES. § 538):

a) Initial: kennisse 1. 1. 18; a- 19. 28; kenneþ 1. 21. 23; akenned 1. 16 etc., 8 k; kende 1. 2 16; a- 19. 12; -u 1. 25; kēmpa 27. 27 etc.,

2 k, 1 c; kining 2. 2 etc., 6 k, 16 c, (always *c* in *cynn*, 10 forms); kægen 16. 19; kælic 20. 22 etc., 2 k, 3 c; kasere 22. 17 etc., 4 k; unklene 8. 16 etc., 2 k, 4 c; kneorisse 1. 17 etc., 4 k, 9 c; kneu 27. 29, (cneu 17. 14); kræftgu(m) 2. 1. 7. 16; krist 2. 4 etc., 6 k, 11 c. Initial *k* occurs 28 times in chapters 1 and 2; after this only once or twice in a chap. (3 times in ch. 22), altogether but 20 times.

b) Medial: gebroken 21. 44 (but 7 forms with *c*); bokera 8. 19 etc., 19 k, 3 c (always *c* in *boc*, 4 times); lokigæp 27. 24; lokende 19. 26 (3 forms with *c*); roketto 13. 35; sukendra 21. 16; ascâkep 10. 14; taken 12. 39 etc., 2 k, 11 c; onsaekp 10. 33 (3 forms with *c*); to-eke 25. 20; -an 15. 38; eknum 24. 19; eknisse 21. 19; ceke 5. 39; seoke 8. 33 etc., 5 k, 2 c; ciken 23. 37; smikende 12. 20; folkes 2. 4 etc., 3 k, 20 c; wolken 17. 5; bilket-to 13. 35; arke 24. 38; carkern 25. 43 etc., 2 k, 5 c; merkade 27. 66; besenked 18. 6.

c) Final: ek 5. 39 etc., 31 k, 9 c; -sek 17. 15 etc. (2). Medial and final *k* is pretty evenly distributed throughout R' after ch. 3, (ch. 2 has but 1 case; chaps. 1, 3, 6, 7, 9, none); ch. 23 has the most (10), other chaps. not more than 5 or 6; altogether 82. Ps. and Rit. have only *c*, (cf. Zeuner, § 41; Lindelöf, § 42); Corpus, 2 k, (cf. Dieter, p. 63). For *k* in WS. see Cosijn, I., § 131.

h for *c* appears always in:

ah (conj.) 4. 4 etc. (74), (cf. Siev., § 210. 3).

g for *c* (sonant for surd) occurs in:

galdes 10. 42.

ng for *nc* in:

pongunge 15. 36; pongade 26. 27, (but geþanc 16. 8).

nc for *ng* occurs in:

bæclinc 4. 10; twice, *ngc*: cyninge 21. 5; 27. 37 (cf. Sweet, HES. § 533).

Gemination occurs in:

gemeccum 11. 16; loccas 10. 30; ticcen 25. 33; awæccan 3. 9 etc.; before *l* (cf. Siev., § 228): micclap 23. 5, (miccladun 15. 31); miccles 8. 26; 14. 31; (-miclæs 16. 8); micclan 5. 35; -um 25. 19; miccle 15. 33 etc. (9), (but 24 forms with *c*, 6. 23 etc.).

cc for *cg* (= *gg*) appears in:

liccende 9. 36, and simplified licende 9. 2 (with *cg*, 5. 28; 8. 14);

Simplification of *cc* to *c* takes place in:

wæcep (imp. pl.) 25. 13; wæcende 24. 43, (but 7 forms with *cc*); before a cons. in: tienum 25. 32; when final: loc 5. 36.

Gemination is unjustifiable in:

breccane 5. 17 (cf. brecanne 5. 17); ræccet (3. sg.) 2. 6; arecce (imp. s.) 13. 36; 15. 15; geneleccende 4. 3, (but neolicep 10. 7 etc.).

c + *t* gives *ht* (cf. Siev., § 232) in:

wyrhte 27. 7 etc.; worhte 13. 58 etc.; pohte 1. 20 etc.; but *ct* in: *geneoliete* 9. 20, (cf. -lehte 21. 34); and *het* in: *nealehtun* 21. 1.

Final *c* is lost in:

ewis- 21. 32; æwis- 21. 31; eawis 18. 17.

x stands for *cs* in:

axe 3. 10; exlan 23. 4; geaxast 19. 17 etc.

ch (= Lat. *ch*, = *k*) occurs in proper names:

e. g., chorazam 11. 21; rachel 2. 18; rachab (Lat. *racab*) 1. 5; hiericho 20. 29 etc.

For metathesis of *sc* see § 20.

For the effect of *c* on preceding and following vowels see I., pp. 16, 25, 28, 36, 58, 69, 74, 78.

§ 23. *g* is regarded by Sievers as a spirant in OE. (cf. gr., §§ 212, 213), but Sweet considers it a stop (cf. HES., §§ 546, 547). It is sonant, guttural or palatal according to position (cf. Siev., § 206), and is common in all positions.

R' has:

e. g., gaste 12. 32; gallan 27. 34; gold 2. 11; guma 9. 15; grornadun 20. 11; grist- 13. 42; gæfel 22. 17; gearð 21. 33; geld 16. 26; gyrðels 10. 9; egan 20. 15; mægden 9. 25; endunge 13. 39; ðægn 20. 26; belgas 9. 17; bæg 27. 29; ænig 6. 24; onfeng 25. 18 etc.

i stands for initial *g* in:

iare 22. 8; -a 22. 4; iarwan 26. 17; iarwede 26. 12 etc., 6 forms with *i*, 9 with *g* (s. I., § 5. b); ierde 10. 10; ion-gaþ 10. 5 (cf. -gangap 15. 9 etc.).

g stands for medial *w* in:

segun (pret. pl., cf. Siev., § 391. n. 5) 11. 4 etc. (25 forms); higu 10. 36.

g stands for medial *h* (indicating its spirant quality) in:

dogter 15. 22 (but 7 dohter, 21. 5 etc.); ofslægþ 17. 23 (perhaps infl. of pret.).

More frequently *g* stands for final *h*:

betwig 24. 10 (2), (but 3 h, 1 hc, 18. 15 etc.); gesæg (pret. s. of sêon) 3. 16 (but 18 times h, 3. 7 etc.; once gh, -sægh 4. 21); slag (imp.) 5. 21, (but þwah 6. 17; fleoh 2. 13; ateoh 18. 9); always, of course, slog (anal. with pl., as in WS., cf. Siev., § 392. 2) 26. 51 etc. (4); ðwog 27. 24.

h and *hg* for final *g* (further indication of spirant *g*) occur in:

burh 10. 11 (cf. burg 22. 7); astahg (pret. sg.) 5. 1 (but 7 stag, 7. 27 etc.).

On the other hand *g* for *c* (indicating a stop) appears once: galdes 10. 42.

For the interchange of *ng* (surd gut. stop, cf. Siev., § 215) and *nc* see § 22.

Gemination of *g* is written *cg* (surd pal. stop, cf. Siev., § 216), as in WS.:

-licgan 5. 28 etc.; sæcge 8. 4 etc. bycgan 25. 10 etc., but *gc* in: sæcge 23. 3; sægcaþ 23. 3; 27. 13, (cf. Siev., § 216. n. 1); and *cc* in: liccende 9. 36; reduced to *c* in licende 9. 2.

Gemination is unjustified in:

sæcge (imp. s.) 18. 17.

g occurs by error in:

ingingende (incipiens) 20. 8.

g is rarely lost in R':

After *l* (cf. Siev., § 214 n. 11; Eng. ed., 213 n.): geoldun (= ge-algodun) 27. 66.

Between cons. (cf. Siev., § 214. n. 10; Eng. ed., n. 4): marne 6. 30 (but mærgne 21. 18; mergenne 16. 3).

Before *n* after a palatal vowel (cf. Siev., § 214. 3): only ongæn 27. 32, (6 forms preserve *g*, 8. 34 etc.; also frægn 27. 11 etc.; þægn 23. 11 etc.). Before *þ* and *d*, *g* is always preserved: e. g., tægþigaþ 23. 23; gebrægd 26. 51; strægde 25. 26 etc.; alægde 27. 60; sægde 14. 4 etc.

Loss of *g* occurs once (probably a clerical error) in the prefix *ge-*:

ewisade 12. 16.

Medial *g* introduced from the 3d and 4th stems occurs in wrigan (= WS. wrêon) 11. 27.

Gram. change between *h* and *g* is interfered with by analogy; see above, slog etc.

For *g* = Germ. *j* see § 9. For the effect of *g* on preceding and following vowels see I, pp. 16, 25, 28, 58, 69, 74, 78.

§ 24. *h* represents the guttural and palatal surd spirant in OE. (cf. Siev., § 170).

It is weakened to a mere breath as an initial cons. (cf. Siev., § 217; Sweet, HES. § 497), and often lost in the medial position.

a) Initial *h* is common before vowels and „vowellike“ consonants. R' has:

e. g., hal 9. 22; hord 6. 20; hine 21. 33 etc.; hlisa 9. 26; hreof 8. 2; hwa 3. 7 etc.

Initial *h* is occasionally lost in WS. (in Hatton MS., »nach vocal oder d«, cf. Cosijn, I. p. 181), in Rit. and North. (cf. Lindelöf, § 44; Bout., p. cxliiff; Hilmer, p. 42), rarely in Ps. and Corpus (cf. Zeuner, § 43. 1; Dieter, p. 66).

This loss of *h* is rather more frequent in R':

Before vowels (the preceding word often ending in a vowel or nasal, but also in *c t, d, f, s, ð*): is 7. 24; 22. 24; 24. 46, (but 52 his); us 17. 25, (but 37 forms with *h*); eard 25. 24; eorta 6. 21; -um 18. 35, (but 16 with *h*); eora 6. 15; 7. 16. 20; 8. 34; 9. 30; 10. 18; 15. 8; 23. 30; 24. 31, (but 75 heora); eo 16. 18, (16 heo, hio); æfdon 8. 33; æfð 13. 12, (76 forms with *h*; of course næfð 8. 20; næfdon 13. 5 etc., as regularly in OE.); ge-yrdon 19. 25, (63 with *h*, geherap 11. 5 etc.); yngrade 25. 35, (8 with *h*); and, less important, the foreign words: ymne 26. 30; erodes 2. 1, (but 13 with *h*).

Before consonants: wilce 21. 24, (36 hw); ægwile 7. 17; 12. 36, (33 æghw-); werfe 18. 3; weorfe 10. 13; werfde 9. 22; 17. 17; wærfende 21. 18; weorfap 6. 16, gewyrfep 6. 19. 20; (ge)werfap 7. 6; -ad 16. 23; welpas 15. 27; wilen 13. 21; wær 8. 20, (5 hwær); wa 22. 24, (20 hwa); ræpe 14. 31; 24. 29, (10 hr); ruxlende 9. 23; rægl 28. 3, (but 16 hr); read 11. 8, (but 4 hr, s. I. § 62); reuwe 18. 10, (hreowep 15. 32); genægep 23. 12 (2); næscum 11. 8 (2).

On the other hand inorganic initial *h* appears rarely in WS., more commonly in Rit. and North. (cf. refs. above). R' has inorganic *h*:

Before vowels: his (est) 3. 3; 5. 3; 17. 4; 22. 20, (but 72 is); heow 6. 14, (151 eow); hað 5. 34. 36; haþe 26. 72; -as 5. 33, (aþ, 4 forms, s. I. p. 68); hōehtnisse 5. 10; hoehtende 5. 12; hehtende 5. 11, (but ehtende etc., 5 forms, s. I. § 49); hefalsunge 15. 19; hefalsap 9. 3; -adun 27. 39, (but efalsade 26. 65); in foreign names, following Lat. text: hierusalem 21. 1 etc. (13); hiericho 20. 29.

Before consonants: hwute 27. 49; hræfnað 6. 24; gehroefa 27. 11; gehrefum 9. 11; -hroefe 9. 10, (but geroefe 28. 14 etc. 13 forms); hryft 5. 40, (but ryfte etc., 3 forms, s. I., § 27. c); hripes 9. 38, (cf. ripae 9. 38); gehreorde 15. 33; hreordeþ 12. 3; hreordun 22. 31, (but reordade 19. 4 etc., 5 forms).

b) Medial *h* and (original) *hw* are lost in R', as regularly in OE. (cf. Siev., § 218), before a vowel:

e. g., *fere* 6. 25; *feo* 28. 15; *hea* 17. 1; *slān* 24. 49; *geseon* 13. 17; *teonde* 13. 48; *fleoþ* 24. 16; *ten* 18. 24 etc., (cf. I. §§ 10, 24, 48).

But *h* (*g*) appears (by infl. of 2. 3. sg.) in:

slæhp (pl.) 24. 9; *ofslægþ* 17. 23, (but *slæþ* 5. 21; 23. 34).

Of course *h* remains in foreign proper names:

iohannes 9. 14 etc.; *israhel* 9. 33 etc.

Medial *h* is also lost between a vowel and one of the consonants *l*, *r*, *m*, *n*, (cf. Siev., § 222. 2):

e. g., *fleam* 24. 20; *between* 3. 9 etc.; in the comps.: *heanisse* 13. 5 etc. (5); *hreanis* 16. 3; *nealehte* 21. 34 etc. (9); and, before *b*, (f), in: *wibed* 5. 24 etc., (8 forms, s. I. § 52).

Medial *h* is preserved in the combs. *ht*, *hs* (*x*), (cf. Siev., § 221), and is then usually a palatal spirant in R', (cf. I. §§ 7, 21, etc.):

e. g., *cneht* 2. 9 etc.; *reht* 20. 4 etc.; *mæhte* 8. 28 etc.

But with *ct*, *hct*, *gt* for *ht*:

geneoliete 9. 20; *nealehctun* 21. 1; *dogter* 15. 22.

Inorganic *h* appears before *t* in:

wihtga 21. 46; 24. 15, (but 36 *witga* etc.).

hs (written *x*) appears in:

wexan 13. 30 etc.; *sex* 17. 1; *sextig* 13. 8 etc. For *hs* = *sc* see § 20.

h is lost before *s* in:

westem 3. 8 etc. (cf. Siev., § 221. 2).

h is preserved in WS. and Kt., but lost in North., in the collocation *hs*, *hð*, due to vowel-syncope (cf. Siev., § 222). R' fluctuates in this respect:

in 2. and 3. sg. pres. ind. of contract verbs: *onfoeð* 10. 40 etc. (11); *-fooþ* 19. 29, (only once *onfoehþ* 13. 20); *slæþ* 5. 21, (but *slæhp* 10. 28; *slægst* 23. 37); *sis* 7. 3; *geseq* 7. 3, (but *gesihst* 7. 5; *-u* 7. 3); *gesið* 6. 4; *geseoþ* (sg.) 6. 18, (but *gesihð* 5. 28; 6. 6).

h always remains in the superl.; *næhsta* 20. 14 etc., (12 forms, cf. I. § 45); (once *xs*, *nexstan* 5. 43); and in the comps.: *hebsynne* 12. 5; *-settle* 27. 19;

Gemination (*ch* for *hh*) appears only in:

the North. form *æchir* 12. 1, (before *r*, cf. Siev., § 228).

c) Final *h* is a surd spirant in OE. (cf. Sweet, HES. § 502), usually palatal in Ps. and North. (cf. Siev., § 206. 4), and always preserved. R' has:

e. g., genoh 6. 34 etc.; onfoh 1. 20; pwah 6. 17; ateah 18. 9; neh 16. 27; heh 4. 5; purh 1. 22 etc.

ch for *h* appears in:

gesech 8. 4, (cf. beseoh 18. 10).

hc for *h* in:

betwihc 20. 26, (cf. betwih 18. 15; 26. 58).

g for *h* in:

betwig 24. 10 (2); slag (imp.) 5. 21, and the prets. slog, ðwog etc., (s. § 23).

h for *c* in:

ah 4. 4 etc. (74).

For *hþ* = medial *þþ* see § 19. For the effect of final *h* on a preceding vowel see I. §§ 7, 13, 21, 60, 63.

Inflection.

I. The Verb.

Personal Endings of the Verb.

The Present.

§ 25. The singular pres. ind.

First person: The regular ending in WS. (except for verbs in -mi) is -e, (cf. Siev., § 355; Cosijn, II., § 72); for weak verbs Cl. II., -ie, *ige* (cf. Siev., § 414, n. 1; Cosijn, II., p. 181). In the Ps. the ending is -u (weak II., -iu, rarely -igu), occasionally -o, rarely -a and -e (cf. Zeuner, § 47, I. b; § 53). Rit. has -o (weak II., -igo), sometimes -e and -a (cf. Lindelöf, § 46).

R' has regularly -e (99), -ige (2), seldom -o (5), -io (1), -u (5), -a (2):

a) in strong verbs:

arise 26. 32 etc. (2); ripe 25. 26; drince 26. 29 (2); cwepe 8. 9 etc. (7); sprece 13. 13; bidde 26. 36; agefe 18. 26; but *ageofu* 18. 29; cume 8. 7; -saece 10. 33; -sace 26. 35; forlete 18. 21; gange 21. 29; 26. 36; (altogether -e 21, -u 1). æ for WS. êa occurs in the contr. vb. *slæ* 26. 31.

b) in weak verbs:

Cl. I., sette 12. 18 etc. (3); gesete 25. 23; cysse 26. 48; gereorde 11. 28; sende 10. 16; 11. 10; dyppe 3. 11; but *depu* 3. 11; gehæle 8. 7; but *hælo* 13. 15; *bilket-to* 13. 35; *roket-to* 13. 35; *on-tyno* 13. 35; *ondeto* 10. 32; *ondetu* 7. 23; 11. 25; selle 4. 9 etc. (3); wyrce 21. 27 etc. (3); (-e 16, -o 5, -u 3). Cl. II., getimbre 16. 18; 26. 61; prowce 26. 33; but *ðrowa* 17. 17; ahsige 21. 24; somnige 25. 26; *halsio* 26. 63; *ehtu* 11. 16; (-e 3, -ige 2, -io 1, -u 1, -a 1). This class has

-ig, -i, before the final vowel but 3 times in a total of 10. Cl. III., *sæcge* 2. 13 etc. (59); *sæcga* 5. 26.

For the endings of verbs in *-mi* see § 53.

Second person: The ending in OE., for st. verbs and Cl. I. weak, is *-es* (-is), later *-est* (-sð); for weak verbs, Cls. II. and III., *-as*, *-ast* (sð), (cf. Siev., § 356). The Ps. has *-es*, seldom *-est* (in st. vbs. and Cl. I. wk.), ratio of *-s* to *-st*, 107 : 10; *-as*, seldom *-ast* (Cls. II. and III. wk.), ratio, 44 : 3, (cf. Zeuner, p. 94). In Rit. *-st* is »ziemlich selten«; weak vbs., Cl. II. have *-as* (-ast), sometimes *-ias* and *-es*; 12 forms (weak vbs. of all classes) have *-eð*, *-að*, due to analogy, (cf. Lindelöf, pp. 73, 74).

In R' *-st* prevails. The ratio of *-st* to *-s* is 31 : 9. The endings are: (in st. vbs. and Cl. I. wk.) *-est* 17, *-est* 1, *-æst* 1, *-es* 7, (contr. forms) *-st* 4, *-s* 2; (in Cl. II. wk.) *-ast* 4; (in Cl. III. wk.) *-est* 4, *eþ* 1. The following forms occur:

a) Strong verbs:

astigest 11. 23; *ripes* 25. 24; *bindes* 16. 19 (2); *frægnast* 19. 17; *cumest* 5. 24; *cymest* 3. 14; *cweþest* 12. 23; *-u* 7. 4; *cwiðst* 27. 11 (syncope is frequent in WS. and Kt., very rare in North., cf. Siev., § 358. n.); *agefes* 5. 24; *spreces* 13. 10; *gebiddes* 4. 9; *gesihst* 7. 5; *-u* 7. 3; *gesees* 7. 3; *sis* 7. 3; *onsæcest* 26. 34; *slægst* 23. 37; *ganges* 8. 19; (*-est* 6, *-æst* 1, *-es* 7, contr. forms *-st* 4, *-s* 2).

b) weak verbs:

Cl. I., *geherest* 21. 16; *gehoerest* 27. 13; *lærest* 22. 16; *gemoe-test* 17. 27; *nemnest* 1. 21; *gestreonest* 18. 15; *stænest* 23. 37; *&wyrdest* 26. 62; *wenest* 18. 1 etc. (3); *wircest* 21. 23; (*-est* 11, *-est* 1). Cl. II., *somnast* 25. 24; *geaxast* 19. 17; *locast* 22. 16; *ondsacast* 26. 75. Cl. III., *sægest* 26. 70; *hæfest* 19. 21 (2); 22. 12, (these follow I. instead of II., as in WS., cf. also 3. per. below); *hæfeþ* (*habes*) 25. 25, (cf. Lindelöf, p. 74).

Third person: The ending for WS., in st. vbs. and wk. I., is *-eð* (older *-ið*, *-id*, *-et*, etc.), often with syncope (cf. Siev., §§ 357—8); in wk. vbs. II. and III., *-að* (cf. Siev., §§ 414—5). The Ps. has *-eð* (*-ed*, *-æð* 2), and *-að* (*-ad*), carefully distinguishing the classes as in WS. (cf. Zeuner, p. 94). Rit. has *-eð* (*-ið*), *-að*, interchanging occasionally without regard to class, and (less commonly) *-es*, *-as* (cf. Lindelöf pp. 74—6).

Syncope is almost unknown in Ps. and North., common in WS. and Kt. (cf. id. and Siev., § 358, n.).

R' has these endings: (in st. vbs. and wk. I.), -eþ(ð) 160, -aþ(ð) 44, iþ 6, -et 5, -æþ 2, -at 1, -æd 1, -id 1, with syncope 28 (+ 91?), contract vbs. 20; (in wk. vbs. II. and III.), -aþ(ð) 37, -iaþ 3, -eþ 16, -æþ 3, eþ 1, with syncope 6, contr. vb. 1.

The following forms occur: a) In strong verbs:

Cl. I., ariseð 12. 42 etc. (5); smiteþ 15. 11 (2); *stigað* 17. 27; 24. 17; *geuitað* 17. 20; (eð 7, -að 3.) Cl. II., bebeodeþ 4. 6; forleoseð 10. 39 etc. (3); abreopeð 21. 41. Cl. III., gelimpeþ 18. 13; drinceþ 24. 49; findeþ 13. 44 etc. (2); *gebindaþ* 12. 29; onginneþ 1. R.; -aþ 24. 49; swælteþ 15. 4; geldeþ 6. 4 etc. (3); helpeð 16. 26; gewyrfeþ 6. 19. 20; awoerpeþ 12. 24; ut-weorpeþ 9. 34 etc. (2); *geweorþað* 21. 21; 24. 21; *geweorðæd* 13. 22; werpeð 9. 16; with syn., *gewyrð* 13. 32, tobregdeþ 12. 29; (-eþ 18, -aþ 4, -æd 1, syn. 1). Cl. IV., cymeþ 25. 6 etc. (14); -id 24. 42; -aþ 23. 35; with syncope, *cymþ* 13. 19; 24. 50; genimeþ 12. 11. 45; -aþ 10. 38; bereþ 7. 17 etc. (9); breceþ 12. 20; 27. 40; (-eþ 27, -aþ 2, -id 1, syncope 2). Cl. V., *cweþaþ* 12. 32 (2); with syn., *cwið* 15. 5, probably *cweþ* (ait) 8. 32 etc. (14); (dicit) 7. 21; 8. 26; ?(inquit) 14. 8; cwæþ (future) 25. 34. 40. 41; 21. 25; 24. 48; cwaep 5. 25. The following forms of this word are uncertain. There may be change of tense (pret. for pres.) as is most probable, or æ may stand for e (cf. I., §. 12, b): cwæþ (ait) 4. 7 etc. (66); cwep 11. 4 etc. (3); cwæþ (dicit) 8. 20 etc. (17); (dicente) 17. 26; (dicens) 25. 22 etc. (3); cwep (dicit) 12. 44. eteþ 9. 11; agæfeþ 16. 27; agefeþ 17. 11; ongeteð 13. 23; -aþ 13. 19; *sprecaþ* 10. 20; *spreocaþ* 12. 34; *bið* 7. 8; but *biddeth* 7. 10; ligeþ 8. 6; siteþ 23. 22; *gesitæþ* 25. 31; sitteþ 19. 28; ge- 19. 29; *gefeþ* 18. 13; gesihþ 5. 28; 6. 6; *gesið* 6. 4 *geseoþ* 6. 18; (-eþ 9, -aþ 5, -æþ 1, syncope 25 + 91?). Cl. VI., abefep 9. 16; 12. 11; *ðhæfaþ* 23. 12; slæhþ 10. 28; *slæþ* 5. 21; stondeþ 12. 25. 26; *sweraþ* 23. 16. 20. 21. 22; *swæraþ* 23. 18; *sweræþ* 23. 16; *swerat* 23. 22; wexeþ 13. 32; onsaekþ 10. 33; (-eþ 6, -aþ 6, -at 1).

Red. vbs., foeþ 13. 20; -foeð 10. 40 etc. (11); *fooþ* 19. 29; forleteþ 5. 32 etc. (6); gangeð 15. 17; falleþ 17. 15 etc. (4); fealleþ 12. 11; slepeþ 9. 24; sauweþ 13. 37; *gesceadiþ* 25. 32; with. syn., cræd (cantet) 26. 34. 75; (-eþ 14, -iþ 1).

b) In weak verbs:

Cl. I., *fremmaþ* 19. 9 (2); 7. 24. 26; setteþ 9. 16; 24. 47; setep 21. 41 etc. (3); forbærneþ 3. 12; *cerraþ* 24. 18; *gecyþaþ* 26. 73; kenneþ 1. 21. 23; *depið* 3. 11; 26. 23; dyppeþ 3. 11; *ge-*

dælaþ 24. 51; *doemeð* 12. 18; *adwæscet* 12. 20; *ondetep* 10. 32; *afælleþ* 18. 6. 8; *fylgeþ* 10. 38; *foedeþ* 6. 26; *gehereþ* 13. 20 etc. (7); *-að* 12. 19; 18. 17 (2); 13. 19; *gehæleþ* 1. 21; *ahydeþ* 13. 44; *hyngriþ* 5. 6; *gehnyscet* 21. 44; *genægeþ* 23. 12; *læreþ* 5. 19 (2); *lædeþ* 5. 32 etc. (5); *-aþ* 19. 9; *liorað* 17. 20; *gelioreþ* 5. 18; *geleoreþ* 5. 18; *-aþ* 24. 34; *toleseþ* 5. 19; *gemoeteþ* 16. 25 etc. (5); *nemneþ* 22. 43. 45; *regneþ* 5. 45; *hræfnað* 6. 24; *sendeþ* 12. 20 etc. (4); *stenceþ* 12. 30; *wenaþ* 24. 50; *awerdað* 5. 13; irreg. vbs., *bygiþ* 13. 44 (2); *ræceþ* 7. 9. 10; *ræccet* 2. 6; *soeceþ* 7. 8; 16. 4; *-aþ* 2. 13; *-et* 12. 39; *seleþ* 16. 26 etc. (3); with syn. *selð* 23. 20; *selleþ* 7. 11; 25. 29; *-aþ* 10. 21; 13. 44; 23. 18; 26. 23. 46; 5. 25; *pynceþ* 17. 25 etc. (3); *ðincaþ* 18. 12; *wyrceþ* 7. 17 etc. (6); *wærgað* 5. 11; *neoliceþ* 3. 2 etc. (4); *-et* 4. 17; *herweþ* 6. 24; *eaweþ* 24. 27. 30 (cf. Siev., § 408. 2); *cægeþ* 15. 23; (-eþ 73, -aþ 25, iþ 5, -et 5, -æþ 1, syncope 1). Cl. II., *ariað* 15. 6; *gearweþ* 11. 10; *-aþ* 6. 30; *eardaþ* 23. 21; *æt-clifað* 19. 5; *clænsaþ* 3. 12; *cliopaþ* 12. 19 etc. (2); *acolaþ* 24. 12; *eadmedaþ* 18. 4; *hefalsaþ* 9. 3; *endeþ* 28. 20; *eorsaþ* 5. 22; 18. 21; *huteþ* 6. 24; *halgaþ* 23. 17; *hongað* 22. 40; *lufað* 10. 37 etc. (3); *genyhtsumaþ* 24. 12 etc. (3); *niðrað* 12. 42; *readaþ* 16. 3; *ascadeþ* 25. 32; *asmoraþ* 13. 22; *somnaþ* 12. 30 etc. (3); *sorgaþ* 6. 34; & *swareþ* 25. 45; *æswiceþ* 18. 9; *getimbrað* 27. 40; *beþearfað* 16. 26; *beþærfeþ* 5. 29. 30; 15. 5; 18. 6; 19. 10; *apiotraþ* 24. 29; *þrowað* 13. 21; 17. 15; *-iaþ* (infl. of pl.) 11. 12; 16. 26; *weorðaþ* 15. 8; *þurhwunaþ* 10. 22; 24. 13; (-aþ 35, -iaþ 3, -eþ 11, -æþ 1, -eþ 1). Cl. III., *hæfeþ* 9. 6; 13. 21. 44; *-æþ* 11. 18; *hefæþ* 5. 32; *hæfð* 1. 23; 13. 12 (3); 25. 28; *næfð* 8. 20; *næfeþ* 25. 29; *sægeþ* 12. 18; *leofaþ* 9. 18; *fiað* 6. 24; (-eþ 5, -æþ 2, -aþ 1, syncope 6). Note 1. In the 3. per., as well as the 2., this class has assumed (with one exception) the endings of Cl. I., and therefore conforms to that class throughout the pres. ind. contrary to WS. usage (cf. the imp. sg. § 29). Note 2. For certain cases of pres. 3. sg. in *-e* etc. see § 27, and cf. Lindelöf p. 76 ff.

§ 26. The plural pres. ind. The regular ending for the three persons in WS. or Kt. is *-að* (-ad, -at), often *-e* before the pronouns *we*, *ge*, (cf. Siev., § 360); weak vbs., Cl. II., have *-i(g)að*, (cf. Siev., § 414; Cosijn, II., p. 179 ff.). The Ps. has *-að*, resp. *-iað* (Cl. II. wk.), (cf. Zeuner, p. 95). Rit. has *-að* (-eð), less commonly *-as* (-es); in Cl. II. wk., *-i(g)að* (-að 2, -eð 1), less often *-as* (-ias 1); farther a considerable number of forms in *-a*, or *-e*, probably ind., but doubtful, (cf. Lindelöf pp. 77, 78).

R' has these endings: (st. vbs., and Cls. I. and III. wk.),

-aþ (ð) 153, -eþ (ð) 30, -æþ 2, -e 1, contr. forms 23; (Cl. II. wk.) -igaþ (ð) 20, -igæþ 1, -iaþ 5, -aþ 6, -eþ 2, -æþ 1, -at 1, contr. vb. 1.

These are the forms in R': a) strong verbs:

Cl. I., arisaþ 24. 11 etc. (4); -eþ 10. 21; gerisaþ 11. 12; astigað 20. 18; ripath 6. 26; scinaþ 13. 43; besmitaþ 15. 20 (2); on-wreoþ 16. 17; (-aþ 10, -eþ 1, contr. 1). Cl. II., geotaþ 9. 17 (2); hreoweþ 15. 32; gelucaþ 23. 13; fleoþ 24. 16; fleap 23. 33; (-aþ 3, -eþ 1, contr. 2). Cl. III., drincaþ 6. 31; spinnaþ 6. 28; winnaþ 6. 28; 11. 28; bindaþ 18. 18 (2); 23. 4; swingaþ 10. 17; 23. 34; adelfaþ 6. 19. 20; geweorpað 24. 34; for- 8. 25 etc. (4); awyrpeþ 12. 27; tobersteþ 9. 17; (h) weorfaþ 6. 16; beornað 5. 15; -spurnaþ 24. 10; (-aþ 19, -eþ 2). Cl. IV., cumaþ 9. 15 etc. (5); cymeþ 23. 36; 7. 14; nimaþ 19. 11; niomaþ 26. 52; forstelaþ 6. 19. 20; (-aþ 9, -eþ 2). Cl. V., cweþað 17. 10 etc. (5); cwæþað 11. 18 etc. (5); cweoþaþ 16. 13 etc. (4); etaþ 6. 19 etc. (6); ageofað 21. 41; 12. 36; ongetaþ 13. 51 etc. (7); ongeotaþ 13. 13; begetaþ 5. 7; metaþ 7. 2; gesprecaþ 10. 20; geseoþ 24. 2 etc. (13); ġeseaþ 13. 14; 24. 30; ġeseeþ 11. 5; biddaþ 7. 11 etc. (3); bidaþ 20. 22; sittað 26. 36; ge- 5. 5 etc. (3); aþ 41, contr. vbs. 16). Cl. VI., slæþ 24. 9; ofslægþ 17. 23; ofslæþ 23. 34; stondeþ 20. 7; -aþ 12. 47; ahebbað 4. 6; waexaþ 6. 28; thuað 15. 2; (-aþ 3, -eþ 1, contr. 4). Red. vbs., ondfoð 21. 22; foað 17. 25; onfoeþ 23. 14; hoap 23. 34; letað 23. 13; for- 18. 35; -eð 6. 14 (2). 15 (2); gangaþ 11. 5 etc. (3); falleþ 15. 27; 24. 29; saweð 6. 26; ondredað 21. 26; wepaþ 24. 30; asceadeþ 13. 49; (-aþ 7, -eþ 8, contr. 4).

b) Weak verbs:

Cl. I., settaþ 5. 15; -eþ 23. 4; wemmaþ 12. 5; bergaþ 16. 28; brædaþ 23. 5; cwelmaþ 10. 21; doemeþ 7. 2; 20. 19; oehtaþ 23. 34; fæstaþ 9. 14 (2); geherað 13. 14 etc. (6); hæmeþ 22. 30; halettaþ 5. 47; hyhtaþ 12. 21; forlæraþ 24. 5; -eþ 24. 11; gelefaþ 9. 28; 18. 6; -aþ 27. 42; leorað 24. 35 (2); toleseþ 5. 19; moetaþ 7. 7. 14; -eþ 2. 8; 21. 2; 11. 29; nemnaþ 1. 23; restaþ 8. 20; sendað 13. 50; ðyrsteþ 5. 6; woenað 6. 7; sellaþ 24. 9 etc. (6); -eþ 10. 19; gesoecaþ 28. 5; soeceþ 6. 32; getæceþ 28. 14; þencaþ 9. 4; 16. 8; wyrcaþ 7. 23; 23. 5; eaweþ 23. 27. 28; scyaþ 28. 14; (-aþ 38, -eþ 15, -æþ 2). Cl. II., clænsigaþ 23. 25; costigað 22. 18; dwaligað 22. 29; eardigaþ 12. 45; 13. 32; ge-endigaþ 10. 23; frętwæþ 23. 29; hateþ 5. 44; hleo-nigaþ 8. 11; lufigaþ 5. 46 etc. (4); lokigaþ 27. 24; micclaþ 23. 5; myngað 16. 9; niðrigað 12. 41; reordað 12. 5; hreordeþ 12. 3; som-niaþ 6. 26; somnigaþ 7. 16 etc. (3); gesomnaþ 24. 31; gescawað 5. 8; sorgiaþ 6. 28; scyldigaþ 6. 12; &swærigaþ 25. 37 etc. (2); ofer-swiðiaþ

16. 18; *timbraþ* 23. 29; *tægþigaþ* 23. 23; *twigaþ* 21. 21; *geþafigaþ* 18. 19; *þrowigaþ* 26. 31; *þrowiaþ* 5. 10; *warniaþ* 16. 6; (for list of endings see above). Cl. III., *habbaþ* 27. 65 etc. (11); *nabbaþ* 14. 16. 17; 15. 32; *habbe we* 21. 38 (cf. Siev. § 360. n.); *fiegaþ* 24. 10; *lifgaþ* 4. 4; *sæggaþ* 17. 9 etc. (4); *seccaþ* 11. 5; *sæggaþ* 23. 3; 27. 13; (-aþ 23, -e 1). Note 1. In the above collection of examples (both sg. and pl.), -aþ, -aþ etc. in forms otherwise the same are reckoned together. An estimate of the relative frequency of final þ and ð in verbs may be found in § 19. Note 2. For certain cases of pl. pres. ind. in -en, -an, -e etc. see § 28, and cf. Lindelöf, p. 78 ff.

§ 27. The singular pres. opt. The WS. ending is -e (anciently -æ); for Cl. II. wk., -i(g)e, (cf. Siev., §§ 361, 414; Cosijn, pp. 123, 181). The Ps. has -e, resp. -ie (Cl. II. wk.), once -ae, (cf. Zeuner, p. 96). In Rit. the st. vbs. and Cl. I. wk. have -e and -a; Cl. II. (and III), -ia, -iga (-age 2, -ega 1, -ege 1, etc.), (cf. Lindelöf, pp. 79, 80).

R' has the endings: (st. vbs. and Cls. I. and III. wk.) -e 79, -æ 7, e 3, -a 2, contr. vbs. 2; (Cl. II. wk.) -ige 6, -igæ 1, -e 2.

In R' the opt. pres. is often used to translate the Lat. fut., fut. perf., and sometimes even the pres. ind. (cf. Rit., Lindelöf, p. 76 ff.). The sentence is then usually conditional, or begins with *seþe* (qui) = whoever. Where necessary the Lat. verb will be given.

The following forms occur: a) In strong verbs:

Cl. I., *arise* 17. 9; *astigæ* 27. 42; *gehrine* (si tetigero) 9. 21 (this may be ind. as well). Cl. II., *forleose* 16. 25; (*perdet*) 10. 39; (*h*)*reuwe* 18. 10. Cl. III., *drince* 26. 42; *finde* 18. 13; *weorpe* 6. 10; *ge-* 5. 18; 18. 19; -æ 23. 26; *weorðe* 5. 29; 18. 14; *ge-* 8. 13; 9. 29; 15. 28; *wearpe* 5. 30; *werpe* 24. 20; *weorpe* 15. 26; *awearpa* 8. 31; *ut-wyrpe* (si eicio) 12. 27. 28 (may be ind.); *weorfe* 10. 13; &*spurne* 4. 6. Cl. IV., *cyme* 10. 13; 8. 9; *cume* 6. 10; 10. 23; 27. 49; *nime* 19. 12; *ge-* 15. 26; *bere* 16. 24. Cl. V., *cwæpe* (*dixerit*) 5. 22; 21. 3; *agefe* 5. 26; &*gete* 24. 15; *bidde* (*petit*) 5. 42; (*petierit*) 7. 9; *ge-* (*orabis*) 6. 6; 4. 10; (*adorem*) 2. 8; *licgæ* 5. 32. Cl. VI., &*sæc* 16. 24; *slæ* (*percusserit*) 5. 39; *stonde* 18. 16; *swerigæ* (*iuraveris*) 5. 36. Red. vbs., *foe* 22. 24; *onfoiæ* 1. 20; *forlete* 27. 17; -æ (*dimiserit*) 5. 31; *ræde* (*legit*) 24. 15; *sceade* 19. 6.

b) In weak verbs:

Cl. I., *fremme* 19. 18; *fælle* (*scandalizat*) 5. 29. 30; *pu fæste* (*ieiunas*) 6. 17; *gecerre* 10. 13; *gehere* 11. 15; 13. 9; *gehoære* 13. 43; *hæme* 19. 10; *ahælde* 8. 20; *forlære* 24. 4; *leore* 26. 39; *lihte* 5. 15.

16; se þe gemoete (qui invenit) 10. 39; nede (angarizauerit) 5. 41; sende 9. 38; gestreone 16. 26; selle 5. 25. 31. 36; 24. 45; (exibebit) 26. 53; wirce (facies) 6. 2; þynce (videtur) 25. 29; ð- 21. 28; -æ 22. 17; wæcce 22. 24; wærge (maledixerit) 15. 4; þu bringa (offeris) 5. 23. Cl. II., ðewige (seruies) 4. 10; lufige (dileges) 19. 19; gedwalige (errauerit) 18. 12; firnige (peccauerit) 18. 15; syngige (id.) 18. 15; genihtsumige (habundauerit) 5. 20; nyht-sumigæ 25. 9; folge 16. 24; getriowe 27. 43. Cl. III., hæbbe 5. 23 etc. (5); (habet) 11. 15; 13. 9. 43; gefreoge 27. 43. 49; sæcge (dixeris) 8. 4; (-it) 24. 23; (dices) 19. 18.

§ 28. The plural pres. opt. The ending in WS. is *-en* (*-e*), *-an*, (anciently *-æn*), later *-on* (*-un*), (cf. Siev., § 361; Cosijn, II., § 77); Cl. II. wk., *-i(g)en*, etc., (cf. Siev., § 414). The Ps. has *-en* (resp. *-ien*), (cf. Zeuner, p. 96). In Rit. final *-n* is lost and the pl. becomes like the sg.; the vowel is *-e*, *-a*, *-æ*, (seldom *-o*, *-u*); Cl. II. wk., *-ia*, *-iga*, etc. (cf. Lindelöf, p. 80).

In R' *-n* is lost 23 times, preserved 22 times. The endings are: (st. vbs. and Cls. I. and III. wk.) *-an* 14, *-en* 5, *-on* 1, *-e* 12, *-æ* 2, (contr. forms) *-n* 1, *-n* lost 2; (Cl. II. wk.) *-ige* 5. *igæ* 2, *-an* 1. In a few cases *-en* (*-an*) appears to stand for *-aþ*, pres. ind. pl. The following forms occur:

a) In strong verbs:

Cl. I., *toslite* 7. 6; Cl. II., *aluca* 13. 29. Cl. III., *git drincan* (bibitis) 20. 23 (cf. fallen, cypan, etc. below); *gewærþe* 4. 3. Cl. IV., *cuman* 27. 64; *cweoþan* 23. 39; *cwæþan* 5. 11; *gecweðe* (dixeritis) 21. 21; *for-stælan* 27. 64. Cl. V., *etan* 6. 25; *on-geton* 13. 15; *sprece* 10. 19; *-an* 10. 19; *tredan* 7. 6; *geseo* 13. 15; 16. 28; *geseon* 5. 16; *ponne ge bidde eow* (cum oratis) 6. 5 (perhaps ind., cf. Lindelöf, p. 78); *biddan* 6. 8; *ge-* 18. 19. Cl. VI., *wið-stonde* 5. 39; *swerge* 5. 34. Red. vbs., *gangan* 26. 41; 28. 10; *gehalden* 4. 6; *fallen* (cadunt) 15. 14; *swa swa we forleten* (sicut nos remittimus) 6. 12. The reason for the opt. in these last two cases is not clear (cf. also *cypan*, *faesten*, below); these seem to be early examples of the „extension“ of *-en* to the pres. ind. pl., which afterwards became „the characteristic feature of the Midland verb“, (cf. Sweet, New Eng. Gr. § 1230).

b) In weak verbs:

Cl. I., *cypan* (testificantur) 26. 62; *faesten* (cum ieiunatis) 6. 16, the scribe may have mistaken the Lat.; (*ieiunabunt*) 9. 15; *geheran* 13. 15; *moete* 22. 9; *gehreorde* 15. 33; *geþycge* 14. 15; *gewyrce we* (faciamus) 17. 4; (cf. Siev., § 360, n.) Cl. II., (*cwedun him wiltu we*

gæn & gesomnige (dixerunt ei uis imus et colligimus) 13. 28; *iarnwan* 26. 17; *gearwige* 6. 25; *geincfulligæ* 17. 27; *þrowige* 26. 33; *sorgige* 6. 25; *geteorige* 15. 32; *wuldrigæ* 5. 16. Cl. III., sæge (dixerint) 24. 26; (þæm þe eowic hateþ *vel*) *fiegæ* (his qui oderunt vos) 5. 44, here the form should be ind. like hateþ (cf. several such forms in Rit., Lindelöf p. 78).

§ 29. The singular imperative. In WS. st. vbs. (except short stems in -jo-) and wk. vbs. Cl. I., with long stems, have no ending; but short stems (st. vbs. in -jo-, and Cl. I. wk.) end in *-e* (older *-i*); wk. vbs. Cls. II. and III. have *-a* (cf. Siev., § 362, § 410. 3, § 414, etc.). The Ps. agrees with WS., (cf. Zeuner p. 96 ff.). In Rit. st. vbs. in -jo- and Cl. I. wk. (short stems) often have no ending but forms with *-e* also occur; Cl. II. wk. usually has *-a* (once, *-e*), but in some cases a special North. ending, *-ig*; a few forms (anāl. of st. vbs.) are without ending, (cf. Lindelöf, p. 81 ff., and Siev., § 372, n.).

R' agrees with Rit. in having some forms (short stems, st. vbs. in -jo-, and wk. I.) without final *-e*; conversely at least 2 long stems (wk. I.) have *-e*; wk. vbs. Cl. II. have: *-a* 13, *-e* 9, *-æ* 1; wk. vbs. Cl. III. have *-e* 4, wanting 1, (Cl. III. has therefore taken the endings of Cl. I. wk. throughout, cf. above, § 25, note).

The following forms occur: a) strong verbs:

Cl. I., *aris* 2. 13 etc. (4); *astig* 27. 40; *abid* 7. 4; 27. 49; *gewit* 17. 20. Cl. II., *fleoh* 2. 13; *ateoh* 18. 9. Cl. III., *aceorf* 5. 30; (miswritten) *asceorf* 18. 8; *weorp* 18. 8; *a-* 5. 30; 18. 9; *wearp* 21. 21; *awerp* 5. 29. Cl., IV., *cum* 14. 29; *cym* 9. 18; 19. 21; *genim* 9. 6 etc. (7). Cl. V., *geeweþ* 8. 8; *cwæþ* 20. 21; *ge-* 4. 3; *gef* 20. 8; *a-* 5. 33; 18. 28; *beseoh* 18. 10; *gesech* 8. 4; *bidde* 6. 6; *lige* 5. 27; *site* 22. 44. Cl. VI., *slag* 5. 21; *pwah* 6. 17; *fær* 2. 20; *hef* (without *-e*) 21. 21; also *swer* 5. 33. Red. vbs., *blau* 6. 2; *ondrêd* 1. 20; *onfoh* 1. 20; *gang* 16. 23 etc. (5); *hald* 19. 17; *hat* 14. 28; 27. 64; *lêt* 3. 15; *forlet* 8. 22 etc. (5); *kæt* 8. 21; *gelaet* 6. 13.

b) weak verbs:

Cl. I., *gesette* 9. 18; *apene* 12. 13; *gecer* 26. 52; *fylge* (infl. of *folga*, Cl. II.) 8. 22; *-æ* (alt. in MS., *folgæ* to *fylgæ*) 9. 9; *hæl* 8. 25; 27. 40; *ge-* 21. 9. 15; *hæl* 14. 30; *leor* (transi) 17. 20; *gelese* 6. 13; *send* 4. 6 etc. (3); *ontyn* 17. 27; 25. 11; *betun* (= *-tyn*?) 6. 6; *sele*

14. 8; 5. 42; selle 17. 27; 19. 21; (prob. opt.) 5. 36; sylle 19. 21; with loss of *-e*, *sel* 5. 39; 6. 11; bebycge 19. 21; breng 8. 4; arecce 13. 36; 15. 15; wyrc 21. 28; æteaw 8. 4; *cege* 20. 8 (the Ps. has *gece*, cf. Zeuner, p. 97; Lindis. has *ceig*). Cl. II., *ahloca* 5. 29; 18. 9; *are* 15. 4; 19. 19; *geclænsa* 23. 26; *costa* 4. 7; *folga* 19. 21; *fullume* 15. 25; *hate* 5. 43; *locæ* 27. 4; *lufa* 5. 43; 22. 37. 39; *miltsa* 9. 27 etc. (3); *ge-* 20. 31; *miltse* 17. 15; *smere* 6. 17; *getreowe* 9. 2; *-treuwe* 9. 22; *preata* 18. 15; *geþinge* 5. 24. Cl. III., *hæfe* 18. 26. 29; *sæge* 24. 3; *sæcge* 18. 17; *sæg* (with loss of *-e*) 22. 17; (4 forms with *-e*, like Cl. I.).

§. 30. The plural imperative. In OE. the 2d pl. imp. is just like the pl. pres. ind (s. § 26 above). There is also a 1st per. pl. (not common) in *-an*, (cf. Siev., § 362). The Ps. is normal (cf. Zeuner, p. 97). Rit. shows the same interchange of *-að*, *-eð*, *-as*, *-es* as in the pl. pres. ind., (cf. Lindelöf, p. 82).

R' has these endings: (st. vbs., and wk., Cls. I. and III.), *-aþ(ð)* 72, *-eþ(ð)* 30, *-æþ* 3, *eþ* 1, contr. vbs. 8, *-e* 1, *-a* 1, *-an* (1st. pl.) 1 (?); (wk., Cl. II.) *-igaþ(ð)* 11, *-igæþ* 2, *igæþ* 1, *-iað* 3, *-að* 4, *-ige* 1. These forms occur:

a) strong verbs:

Cl. I., *abideþ* 26. 38; *arisaþ* 17. 7; 26. 46; *gewitaþ* 9. 24 etc. (3). Cl. II., *fleoþ* 10. 23; (ne *wernað vel*) *forbeode* (nolite prohibere) 19. 14. Cl. III., *drincaþ* 26. 27; *gebindaþ* 22. 13; *-eþ* 13. 30; *bergaþ* 16. 11; *weorpað* 25. 30; 10. 8; *gewearpaþ* 7. 6. Cl. IV., *cumaþ* 4. 19 etc. (3); *-eþ* 11. 28; *cymeþ* 21. 38; 25. 34; *nimaþ* 11. 29; *ge-* 25. 28; *-eþ* 26. 48. Cl. V., *cwæpaþ* 10. 27; *cwæpað* 26. 18; *etæþ* 26. 26; *ageofaþ* 22. 21; *ongeteþ* 15. 10; *gefeap* 5. 12; *geseoþ* 6. 26; 28. 6; *gesedeþ* 24. 4. 6; *-séðeþ* 9. 30; *biddaþ* 7. 7; 9. 38; *ge-* 5. 44 etc. (3); *gesittað* 25. 34; 26. 36. Cl. VI., *fereþ* 11. 3; *ascākeþ* 10. 14. Red. vbs., *ondredeþ* 28. 10; *-aþ* 10. 26 etc. (4); *ond-* *fōþ* 26. 26; *gangaþ* 28. 7; *ion-gaþ* 10. 5; *gangan* (1st per, or inf.?) 26. 46; *haldeþ* 23. 3; 27. 65; *be-* 6. 1. 26; 7. 15; 10. 17; *behealdeþ* 16. 6; *leteþ* 13. 30; 19. 14; *for-* 15. 14; *slepað* 26. 45.

b) weak verbs:

Cl. I., *cnyssaþ* 7. 7; *cyþaþ* 11. 4; *doemeþ* 7. 1; *gefyllaþ* 23. 32; *geherað* 13. 18 etc. (4); *hæleþ* 10. 8; *hydeþ* 6. 19. 20; *haletēþ* 10. 12; *læreþ* 28. 19; *ledaþ* 21. 2; *lefað* 24. 26; *ge-* 24. 23; *nemnaþ* 23. 9; *restæþ* 26. 45; *sendeþ* 22. 13; *unsæleþ* 21. 2; *wenaþ* 5. 17; 10. 34; *sellaþ* 25. 8 etc. (3); *ge-* 10. 8; *sella* heom ge 14. 16; *wyrceþ* 12. 33 (2); *wircaþ* 3. 3; *wernað* 19. 14; *gebycgæþ* 25. 9; *pencaþ* 10. 19; *soecaþ* 6. 33;

wæccaþ 26. 38; 24. 42; -eþ 10. 8; 26. 41; wæceþ 25. 13; bringaþ 17. 17; ge- 14. 18; eawað 22. 19. Cl. II., ahsiað 2. 8; ahsigaþ 10. 11; geblissiað 5. 12; bodigað 10. 7. 27; *clænsigaþ* 10. 8; cliopað 22. 9; *forhtaþ* 14. 27; -igaþ 10. 31; ne forhtige eow 28. 5; gearwigað 3. 3; leorniað 11. 29; *leornaþ* 24. 32; geleornigaþ 9. 13; lufigaþ 5. 44; sceawigaþ 6. 28; gesomnigaþ 13. 30; -æþ 13. 30; sorgigaþ 6. 34; -æþ 6. 31; *warnaþ* 16. 12; wynigaþ 10. 11. Cl. III., habbaþ 11. 29; 14. 27; sæcgaþ 21. 5 etc. (8); sæcgaþ 11. 3.

§ 31. The uninflected infinitive.

The regular WS. ending is *-an* (rarely *-a*, older texts less commonly *-on*); wk. vbs., Cl. II., *-i(g)an*, (cf. Siev., §§ 363, 414; Cosijn, II., § 69). The Ps. has *-an* (resp. *-ian*), (cf. Zeuner, p. 97). In Rit. final *n* of the infin. suffers apocope in all cases; the ending is *-a*, seldom *-e*, (resp. *-ia*, *-iga*), (cf. Lindelöf, p. 82).

In R' *-n* is preserved 94 (96?) times, lost 25 times. The endings are: (st. vbs. and Cls. I. and III. wk.) *-an* 78 (80?), *-en* 5, *-on* 1, *-un* 1, *-e* 17, *-ige* 1, *-a* 3, *-æ* 1, contr. vbs. *-n* 9, *-n* lost 3; (wk. vbs., Cl. II.) *-igan* 4, *-ian* 2, *-an* 1, *-ige* 5, *-iga* 1, *-a* 1, *-e* 1.

These forms occur: a) Strong verbs:

Cl. I., arisan 16. 21; astigan 14. 22; æt-witan 11. 20; æthrinan 14. 36; onwrigan (s. § 23) 11. 27; hriopan 12. 1; geflitan 5. 40. Cl. III., drincan 20. 22 etc. (7); sincan 14. 30; sweltan 26. 35; delfan 24. 43; geweorðan 20. 26; weorþan 24. 6; aweorpan 17. 19; to- 26. 61; *awearpe* 7. 5; to-bregdan 12. 29. Cl. IV., cuman 22. 3 etc. (4); *cume* 11. 14; 14. 28; 16. 24; nioman 19. 12; ge- 5. 40; *nioma* 5. 42; beoran 7. 18 (2). Cl. V., cweþan 4. 17 etc. (4); etan 14. 16 etc. (3); *ete* 15. 20; ageofan 27. 58; spreccan 12. 34; spreccan 6. 7; geseon 12. 38; 13. 17; hwute geseon (1st imp.?) 27. 49; biddan 26. 53; ge- 14. 23; *gebilde* 6. 5; forlicgan 5. 28; gesittan 14. 19; *sitte* 20. 23. Cl. VI., slân 24. 49; ofslan 21. 38; ofslean 12. 14; 14. 5; *ofslæan* 10. 28; *ofslæan* 10. 28; *sla* 10. 28; *stonde* 6. 5; *swerige* 26. 74; wexan 13. 30; faran 8. 28; færan 2. 22; 16. 21. Red. vbs., on foon 20. 10; and *foa* 11. 14; onfo 10. 14; letan 24. 43; for- 19. 3. 8; 23. 23; *-en* 1. 19; *-e* 15. 32; gangan 2. 22 etc. (3); (1st. imp.?) 26. 46; ingangen 23. 13; gehaldan 27. 64; wêpan 9. 15; heawan 14. 2; gecnawan 16. 3.

b) weak verbs:

Cl. I., styrgan 23. 4; *bebyrgen* 8. 21. 22; *doeme* 16. 3; *ge-* 16. 3; *ætece* 6. 27; gefyllan 3. 15; feran 8. 18; forðfere 14. 22; heran 10. 14;

gehera 13. 17; *gehælen* 17. 16; *ge-hælan* 27. 42; *hælan* 12. 10; *læran* 4. 17; *gelaede* 6. 13; *leoran* 26. 42; *nemnan* 23. 10; *sende* 27. 6; *ge-andwyrdan* 22. 46; *wendan* 12. 44; *sellan* 20. 14 etc. (5); *gewirce* 5. 36; *bycgan* 25. 10; *be-* 18. 25; *bycgæ* 20. 1; *soece* 18. 12; *awæccan* 3. 9; 26. 40; *eawan* 16. 21; *cegan* 22. 3. Cl. II., *geascigan* 22. 46; *gelcensige* 8. 2; *-clæn-* 8. 3; *folgian* 8. 19; *fretwan* 25. 7; *monige* 18. 23. 24; *gesomnian* 23. 37; *stalle* 6. 5; *tinterga* (= *trega*) 8. 29; *ðeowigan* 6. 24; *-ige* 6. 24; *prowigan* 27. 31; *ge-* 16. 21; *&ustriga* 26. 74. Cl. III., *seegan* 28. 8; *ðreiga* 16. 22.

§ 32. The inflected infin. The WS. ending is *-anne*, older *-enne* (-ene), *-onne*, (rarely *-an*); Cl. II., wk., of course, *-ianne* etc. (cf. Siev., § 363; Cosijn, II., § 70 and p. 178). The Ps. has *-enne* (occasionally *-ende*); *-i* is sometimes wanting in Cl. II., wk. (cf. Zeuner, p. 97 ff.; § 53. 1). Rit. has *-anne*, sometimes *-enne*, (cf. Lindelöf, p. 82 ff.).

R' has the endings: *-anne* 18, *-ane* 5, *-enne* 11, *-ene* 6, (contr. vbs.) *-nne* 5, *-ne* 1; (Cl. II. wk. is without *-i-* and so is not distinguished from other classes).

The forms are: a) strong verbs:

Cl. III., *swinganne* 20. 19; *beornane* 13. 30. Cl. IV., *cumene* 24. 48; *niomane* 15. 33; *nimene* 24. 18; *genimanne* 24. 17; *beranne* 3. 11; *brecanne* 5. 17; *brecanne* 5. 17. Cl. V., *cweþanne* 9. 5; *gecweþanne* 9. 5; *etanne* 12. 4; 26. 17; *seenne* 11. 9; *ge-* 11. 8; *geseonne* 11. 8; *gebiddenne* 2. 2; *-anne* 20. 20. Cl. VI., *ofslæanne* 2. 13. Red. vbs., to *fōne* 26. 55; *hōanne* 20. 19; *forletenne* 9. 6; *gāngenne* 14. 16; *-ene* 19. 24; *sawenne* 13. 3; *healdene* 28. 20; *be-* 16. 12; *sceadenne* 10. 35.

b) weak verbs:

Cl. I., *bebyrgenne* 26. 12; 27. 7; *cyþenne* 1. R.; *delanne* 10. 35; *gefyllenne* 5. 17; *geheranne* 12. 42; *geheþanne* 18. 11; *lædenne* 5. 41; *lioranne* 19. 24; *sendanne* 10. 34; *sellanne* 20. 23; *-ane* 22. 17; *ceganne* 9. 13. Cl. II., *bismere* 20. 19; *ferganne* 5. 41; to *gitsanne* (*vel* *forlicgan*) 5. 28; *sceawenne* 28. 1. Cl. III., *habbanne* 14. 4.

§ 33. The present participle. The regular ending in OE. is *-ende* (older *-ændi*, seldom *-indi*), rarely *-onde*, (cf. Siev., § 363. 2); wk. vbs., Cl. II., have *-i(g)ende* (cf. Cosijn, II., p. 181). The Ps. has *-ende* (-*ænde* 1), *-onde* (only in contr. vbs.); in Cl. II., wk., *-i-* is sometimes wanting, (cf. Zeuner, p. 98 and § 53. 1). The normal ending in Rit. is

-ende (-ænde 3); -ande is »etwas häufiger« in verbs of Cl. II. wk., and in certain contr. vbs.

R' has the endings: (st. vbs. and Cls. I. and III. wk.) -ende 331, (-e 1, -æ 1, -ae 1, -a 1, -es 1, -u 3, -um 6, -ra 4, -re 1, -end 2), -ande 11, (-ne 1), -ænde 4, (contr. vbs.) -ende 6. (-e 1), -onde 4, -ænde 1; (wk. vbs., Cl. II.) -ende 18, (-es 1, -u 1, -um 1), -ande 3, -ænde 1, -iende 1, -igende 1; (it is to be noted that -i-, -ig- appear in this class but once each in a total of 27).

These forms occur. a) strong verbs:

Cl. I., arisende 2. 14 etc. (5); *risænde* (rapaces) 7. 15; -stigende 9. 1 etc. (5); -um 17. 9; -ne 3. 16; *asiende* (excolantes) 23. 24. Cl. II., upp-teonde 13. 48; sukendra 21. 16. Cl. III., drincende 11. 18 etc. (3); -ande 11. 19; 20. 22; grindende 24. 41; ingingende (incipiens) 20. 8 (error of scribe); eornende 23. 8; beornende 13. 42; *swelgande* 11. 19. Cl. IV., cumende 8. 2 etc. (22); cymende 2. 8 etc. (3); -e 16. 28; nednimende 23. 25; genim- 16. 22 etc. (6); -ænde 25. 3. Cl. V., cweþende 19. 3 etc. (56); cweþ- 18. 1 etc. (3); cwæð- 18. 26 etc. (3); cwæp- 28. 9 etc. (55); -endum 22. 31; etende 24. 38 etc. (4); -ra 14. 21; -u(m) 26. 21; ongetende 14. 35; 22. 18; sprecende 9. 33 etc. (3); geseonde 8. 18 etc. (3); *geseende* 5. 1; 8. 34; 9. 2. 4; 13. 13. 14; geseænde 2. 10; biddende 9. 28 etc. (3); ge- 26. 39; -ae 6. 7; licende 9. 2; licc- 9. 36; licg- 8. 14; sittende 11. 16 etc. (9); -u 22. 11; -um 4. 16; -ra 22. 10. Cl. VI., standende 20. 3. 6; stond- 6. 5 etc. (3); -ra 16. 28; færende 25. 14; hebbende 17. 8; unsceppende 27. 24 etc. (2). Red. vbs., forletende 13. 36 etc. (7); -re 11. 22; (forletennæ alt. to) -endæ 11. 24; gongende 15. 21 etc. (15); ingang- 23. 13 etc. (4); ut- 8. 32 etc. (7); to- 15. 12. 23; *gangænde* 22. 15; *gangande* 15. 31 etc. (7); -ne 14. 26; fallende 4. 9; 2. 11; -fæll- 18. 26. 29; slepende 26. 43 etc. (3); haldende 27. 54; sawendes (sb.) 13. 18; wepende 2. 18.

b) weak verbs:

Cl. I., *cnyssande* 7. 8; fremmende 13. 41; ge- 18. 3; sett- 4. 18; aþen- 8. 3 etc. (4); beg- 17. 14; 27. 29; boet- 4. 21; dypp- 28. 19; doem- 19. 28; heht- 5. 11; hoeht- 5. 12; eht- 10. 23; -um 5. 44; oihtende 5. 44; ondent- 3. 6; fylg- 19. 28 etc. (2); -un 8. 10; *fylgænde* 9. 9; fœdendum 24. 19; fæstende 6. 18 etc. (3); glendr- 11. 19; 23. 24; hæl- 9. 35 etc. (3); (abrev.) 26. 49 etc. (3); (as sb. oft., see stems in -nd); hem- 24. 38; hoel- 5. 44; hroer- 27. 39; hyng- 25. 37. 44; ruxl- 9. 23; lær- 15. 9 etc. (5); gelæf- 21. 22; forelior- 27. 39; *gemoetend* (lacks -e, clerical error) 13. 46; sendende 2. 8 etc. (3); -u 26. 12; smikende 12. 20; swænc- 26. 10; woed- 7. 15; wid-

(= wind-) 27. 29; wærf- 21. 18; sell- 21. 12 etc. (5); -um 21. 12; sellend (lacks -e, see above); bebycgendu(m) 25. 9; gebycgende 21. 12; soec- 21. 46 etc. (5); þenc- 5. 25; 6. 27; wæc- 24. 43; wyr- 7. 18; wircendum 6. 3; cegende 8. 29 etc. (6); genelecc- 4. 3. Cl. II., -i- is found in wundriende 8. 10; -ig- in clipigende 21. 15; but clipende 11. 16. The rest lack -i-, -ig-: bifgende 8. 14; bod- 3. 1; 4. 23; boensendu 20. 20; costende 16. 1; -ænde 22. 35; frohtende 25. 25; gærwende 27. 28; hlengendes 26. 7; locande 14. 19; lokende 19. 26; milt- 18. 27; 20. 34; bismer- 27. 41; gesomn- 13. 29; somnendum 13. 47; spittende 27. 30; æswic- 24. 10; ondsvar- 3. 15; -ande 4. 4; 8. 8; þægnende 27. 55; þrow- 17. 12; wag- 12. 20. Cl. III., hæbbende 18. 9 etc. (17); hæb- 4. 24; lifg- 26. 63 (2); -a (= -an) 16. 16; -ra 22. 32.

The Preterit¹⁾.

§ 34. The singular pret. ind. of strong verbs.

The 1st and 3d sg. have no ending in OE. The 2d sg. ends regularly in -e in WS., in Ps., and in Rit.; but certain redup. verbs in Rit. (stems in -*d* and -*t*) have *est* like wk. vbs. (cf. Lindelöf, § 47. 1; also Siev., § 364, n. 2).

R' is normal with exception of the ending -es twice in a redup. vb.

a) 1st and 3d:

e. g., rās 27. 64; ic geceas 12. 18; he bær 8. 17 etc. (for full list see Tense-formation of strong vbs.).

b) 2d per. (all forms):

Cl. I., onwriga 11. 25; Cl. IV., cwome 8. 29; 26. 50; Cl. V., cwæde 26. 25. 64; bede 18. 32; and the redup. verbs: sewe 25. 24; geseowe 13. 27; *forletes* (dereliquisti) 27. 46 (2).

§ 35. The plural pret. ind. of strong verbs.

The regular ending in WS. is -on, often -an, seldom (the older) -un (cf. Cosijn, II., § 76; Siev., § 364. 2). The Ps. has 235 -un, 16 -on, 1 -an (cf. Zeuner, § 48. 1). Rit. has regularly -on (1 -an), (cf. Lindelöf, § 47. 1).

R' has usually -un, but also -on, -an, seldom -en; (-un

1) For the Preteritive Presents and verbs in -*mi* see §§ 52, 53.

121, -on 55, -an 39, -en 8, -æn 1). Four forms apparently ind. (translating Lat. ind.) have umlaut, which belongs properly to the opt., but is rarely found (cf. Siev., § 377). Four preterits inflected weak occur. These are the forms in R':

Cl. I., arisan 25. 7; -en 27. 52; astigan 14. 32; æthrinan 14. 36; gegripan 21. 35; -on 21. 39; wreogan 25. 38. 43; wriogan 25. 36; cnidun 21. 35; (æt-, of-) witun 27. 44; 21. 37; (-an 7, -un 3, -on 1, -en 1). Cl. II., gecuron 13. 48; wið-curun 21. 42; flugon 8. 33; -en 26. 56. Cl. III., *funden* 26. 60; ongunnon 12. 1; in- 25. 7; -un 26. 22; sungan 11. 17; urnon 8. 28; wvrdon 14. 36; -un 14. 20; wurdon 8. 32 etc. (3); -un 15. 37; ge- 18. 31; 27. 54; *wyrdun* (with umlaut, s. § 44) 27. 45; -on 15. 24; also *wyrðon* (without gram. change) 10. 6; and *wyrpon* 7. 22; but wurpon 21. 39; *brustæn* 27. 51; frugnon 22. 23; -un 17. 10; but *frugan* 12. 10, (perhaps a relic of the older conj., cf. Siev., § 389, note); *strægdun* (weak) 21. 8 (2). This vb. is usually weak in WS. prose, (cf. Siev., *ibid.*); (-on 12, -un 9, -an 2, -æn 1, -en 1). Cl. IV., beron 20. 12; cwomun 19. 3 etc. (3); cuom- 13. 5 etc. (5); com- 25. 11; cwomon 9. 10; cuom- 2. 2 etc. (3); quom- 2. 1; cwoman 4. 11 etc. (7); com- 21. 1 etc. (3); *comen* (uenerant) 20. 9; noman 26. 55; ge- 27. 27 etc. (12); -un 14. 12; 26. 50; -en 15. 37; 28. 9; (-an 23, -un 11, -on 6, -en 3). Cl. V., bedun 15. 23 etc. (5); ge- 2. 11 etc. (4); bedon 16. 1; cwædun 27. 4 etc. (23); cwed- 27. 6 etc. (16); cwædon 2. 5 etc. (4); cwed- 19. 10; etun 15. 37 etc. (3); êton 12. 1; frætun 13. 4; ongetun 21. 45 etc. (3); for- 16. 5; ongeotun 24. 39, (s. I., § 44); ongeton 17. 13; sprecun 26. 47; gefegon 2. 10, (s. I., § 43, b); segon 15. 31; ge- 9. 8 etc. (6); gesægon 12. 2 etc. (4); segun 17. 8 etc. (3); ge- 14. 26 etc. (3); gesægun 20. 34; gesagun 25. 37. 38. 44; setun 23. 2; (-un 69, -on 20). Cl. VI., ahofan 17. 8; slogun 26. 67 etc. (4); of- 22. 6; 23. 35; -an 21. 35. 39; stodun 26. 73; *stopen* 28. 9; *wexon* (infl. of redup. vbs.) 13. 7, in the same verse Lindis. has *woxon*, Corpus MS. *weoxon*. (-un 7, -an 4, -on 1, -en 1). Red. vbs., blewun 7. 25; *bleowen* 7. 27; dreordun 9. 8; on- 17. 6; &- 21. 46; 19. 25; fellun 7. 25; feallan 15. 30; feollan 17. 6; -un 7. 27; ge- 13. 4; -on 13. 5; *gefetun* (ceciderunt) 13. 7. 8 must be miswritten; fengon 21. 35; 26. 50; on- 10. 8 etc. (7); ond- 17. 24; &- 20. 9; onfengun 6. 2. 5. 16; âhengon 27. 35; heoldun 27. 36; for- letun 23. 23; 4. 22; forleortun 19. 27, (cf. I., § 50. b); reordun 21. 42; h- 22. 31; weopun 11. 17; sleptun (following Cl. I. wk., cf. Siev., § 395, n. 2) 13. 25; 27. 52; *slepade* (Cl. II. wk., with loss of -n) 25. 5; (-un 21, -on 13, -an 3, -en 1, -e 1).

§ 36. The preterit opt. of strong verbs.

The regular ending of the sg. in OE. is *-e*; of the plur., originally *-en*, later *-on*, *-an*, (cf. Siev., § 365). The few forms in Rit. have *-e* (1 *-i*) in the sg., and *-e* with loss of *n* (1 *-on*?) in the pl.

R' has *-e* in the sg., and usually preserves *-n* in the pl. The endings are: *-en* 4, *-an* 4, *-un* 2, *-e* 4. Three forms in the sg. have umlaut (s. § 35). The following forms occur:

a) The sing.:

Cl. III., *wyrðe* (with umlaut and without gram. change) 24. 22; *gewyrde* 26. 5; (swælte alt. to) *swylte* 22. 24. Cl. IV., *bere* 27. 32; *cuome* 14. 29; *c(u)ome* 5. 17; *cwome* 10. 34; 23. 39; the gloss in 11. 3, *seþe cwome scalt* (qui venturus es) is an anomaly; *cwome*, as opt. sg., translates the Lat., yet *scalt* is added as if the infin. had been used. Cl. V., *bede* 14. 7; *ge-* 19. 13; *agæfe* 18. 30; *agefe* 18. 25. 34; *gesæge* 22. 11; 26. 58. Red. vbs., *onfenge* 25. 27; *forlete* 19. 7; 27. 15.

b) The pl.:

Cl. II., *flugan* 3. 7. Cl. III., *ut- awurpe* 10. 1. Cl. IV., *noman* 26. 4; *ge-* 21. 46; *genome* 16. 5; *cwomun* (indirect dis.) 28. 13; *forstælen* 28. 13. The last two forms may be considered doubtful; the Lat. has the ind. Cl. V., *abeden* 27. 20; *cweden* 13. 54; *sprece* 12. 46; *gesetun* 15. 35. Cl. VI., *slogan* 27. 20; *of-slogen* 26. 4. Red. vb., *gefenge* 22. 15.

§ 37. The singular pret. ind. of weak verbs.

The usual ending of the 1st and 3d sg. is *-e*; of the 2d sg. *-es(t)*, (cf. Siev., §§ 353, 364). The Ps. has one form in *-a*, one in *-as*, otherwise regularly *-e*, *-es* (212), *-est* (6, all but 1 in *dydest*), (cf. Zeuner, p. 99). Rit. has *-e* (1 *-a*), and *-est* much oftener than *-es*, (cf. Lindelöf, p. 84).

R' has the endings: (1st and 3d) *-e* 287, *-æ* 5, *-ae* 1; (2d sg.) *-est* 6, *-æst* 1, *-es* 1.

a) 1st and 3d:

e. g., Cl. I., *byrede* 12. 4; *gesette* 13. 24 etc.; *foerde* 9. 27 etc.; *gehoerde* 14. 1 etc.; but with *-æ*: *geherdæ* 4. 12; *afælda* 21. 12; *fæstæ* 4. 2; *getahtæ* 3. 7; *worhtæ* 25. 16; but *worhte* 13. 58 etc. Cl. II., *clænsade* 11. 5; *folgade* 9. 19 etc.; *licade* 14. 6 etc.; with *-æe*: *biatadae* 9. 30. Cl. III., *sægde* 13. 31 etc.; *hæfde* 18. 25 etc. For more examples see Tense-formation of weak verbs, § 49—51.

b) 2d per. (all forms):

Cl. I., *gefylldæst* 21. 16; *gelefdæst* 8. 13; *sendæst* 25. 27; *stencleðs* 25. 24 (cf. the pret. pres. *wistæðs* 25. 26); *saldest* 25. 20. 22. Cl. II., *getwiodestu* 14. 31, (cf. Siev., § 414. n. 1); *geþingdest* (conuenisti) 20. 13 (with syncope of the middle vowel).

§ 38. The plural preterit ind. of weak verbs.

The ending in WS. is the same as for the strong verbs: usually *-on*, often *-an*, seldom *-un*, (cf. § 35 above). The Ps. has in Cl. II., *-un* 54, *-on* 38; in all other wk. preterits (incl. *sindun*), *-un* 223, *-on* 71, *-an* 3, *-en* 1. (cf. Zeuner, p. 99). Rit. has *-on* (1 *-en*), (cf. Lindelöf, p. 84).

In R' *-un* prevails: *-n* is wanting twice and, perhaps, three times. The endings are: *-un* 152, *-on* 17, *-an* 4, *-en* 3, *-e* 3 (?). These forms occur:

Cl. I., *lægdun* 15. 30; *settun* 27. 37; *ge-* 26. 15; 27. 29; (in 22. 34 the form should be *gesette*, opt. sg.); *styredun* 27. 39; *on-bræddon* 21. 7; *bebyrgedun* 14. 12; *cyðdon* 8. 33; *cyddun* 14. 12; *cwiddun* 11. 17; *gedældun* 27. 35; *fylgedun* 19. 2; *fylgendun* (mis-written) 4. 25; *fylgdun* 9. 27; *foerdon* 25. 15; *afyrdun* 19. 12; *foeddun* 25. 37; *geherdun* 11. 4 etc. (12); *-on* 2. 9; *ge-yrdon* 19. 25; *lærdun* 27. 20; *læddon* 26. 57; *-un* 27. 2. 31; *gelefdun* 21. 32 (2); *-an* 21. 25; *gemettun* 22. 10; *gemoettun* 2. 11; 27. 32; *gemêrdon* 9. 31; *nemdun* 10. 25; *næddun* 27. 32; *sendun* 13. 48; 14. 35; *-on* 22. 16; *sneddun* 21. 8; *steordun* 19. 13; *stændun* 21. 35; *fortyndun* 13. 15; *ontyndun* 2. 11; *&wyrðan* 27. 25; *wendon* 20. 10; *gewendun* 2. 12; *saldun* 13. 8 etc. (11); *ymb-* 27. 28; *salden* 25. 35; *worhtun* 20. 12; *-on* 7. 22; *gebohtun* 27. 7; *-um* (= *un*) 27. 9; *þohtun* 16. 7; 21. 25; *rohtun* 22. 5; *sohtun* 2. 20; 26. 59; *wehton* 8. 25; *brohtun* 9. 32 etc. (7); *to-* 21. 7; *nealehtun* 21. 1; *ungeredun* (cf. Siev., § 408. 1) 27. 31; *æteawdun* 27. 53; *æteawde* 13. 26; (*-un* 70, *-um* 1, *-on* 12, *-an* 3, *-en* 2, *-e* 1). Cl. II., *ahsadun* 12. 10; *axsadun* 22. 23; *ascaden* 17. 10; *cleopadun* 20. 31; 21. 9; 27. 23; *cliop-* 14. 26; 20. 30; *drohtadun* 17. 22; *gedwaladun* 18. 13; *hefalsadun* 27. 39; *feormadun* 25. 35. 43; *ge-* 25. 38; *folgadun* 12. 15 etc. (6); *folge-* 4. 20; 8. 1; 14. 13; *frohtadun* 27. 54; *geoldun* (for *gealgodun*) 27. 66; *gearwadun* 26. 19; *gege-* 27. 31; *grornadun* 20. 11; *hatedun* 13. 6; *hleonudun* 14. 9; *hliona-* 9. 10; *gemerkade* (signantes) 27. 66 (it may be mis-written for *-merkande*, but cf. Lindis. gloss in which pres. part. and pret. ind. pl. stand side by side); *miçladun* 15. 31; *neosadun* 25. 36. 43; *plagadun* 11. 17; *ge ne reordade* (non legistis) 19. 4; *-adun* 21. 16; *bismeradun* 9. 24; 27. 29. 31; *smoradun* 13. 7; *somnadun* 22. 10;

ge- 13. 2 etc. (4); spittadun 26. 67; (ond-, and-, &-) swaredun 26. 66; 14. 17; 25. 9; -adun 12. 38; swigadun 20. 31; tweodun 28. 17; ðægnadun 4. 11; pegne- 25. 44; geþingadun 20. 2; geþreatadun 19. 13; (*ðreattan* 20. 31 follows Cl. I.); þrowadun 13. 57; wilnadun 13. 17; for-wisnadun 13. 6; witgadun 7. 22; 11. 13; wuldradun 9. 8; -wunadun 15. 32; wundradun 7. 28 etc. (9); (-un 71, -an 1, -en 1, -e 2?). Cl. III., hæfdon 21. 21; 14. 34; -un 14. 5 etc. (6); æfdon 8. 33; næfdon 13. 5; nefdun 13. 6; sægdon 18. 31; -un 8. 33 etc. (4); (-un 11, -on 5).

§ 39. The pret. opt. of weak verbs.

The ending is the same as for the strong verbs: sg., -e; pl., -en, later -on, -an (cf. § 36). The Ps. has -e, -en, (cf. Zeuner, p. 99). Rit. has -e (but borrows -est for the 2d sg.), and wants the pl., (cf. Lindelöf, p. 84).

In R' the sg. ends in -e; the pl. has 5 forms without -n (cf. Siev., § 365. n.), 5 with -n. The pl. endings are: -en 2, -un 2, -on 1, -e 5. The examples are not numerous and some may be doubtful. a) In the sg.:

Cl. I., onsette 19. 13; (the gloss *he gesettun*, impossuisset, 22. 34 seems to be a mistake for the opt. sg.); foerde 20. 30; ferde 8. 34; lærde 11. 1; liorde 8. 34; 20. 30; salde 14. 7; 19. 7; 20. 28; 26. 59; 27. 31; eaude 16. 1. Cl. II., miltsade 18. 33; bodade 11. 1; ðægnade 20. 28.

b) in the pl.:

Cl. I., *cerdun* 2. 12; in *cwæmdon vel acuste* (accusarent) 12. 10 there is evidently a misunderstanding of the text; *cwæmdon* does not translate the Lat. verb and the glosser, in uncertainty, has formed a new vb., *acuste*, on the basis of the Latin; *hælde* 10. 1; *gelefe* 21. 32; *salden* 27. 1; *eawden* 24. 1. Cl. II., *niðrade* 12. 7; *wunade* 11. 23; *wundradun* 13. 54 may be ind., but cf. *cweden*, same verse and same constr.

The Past Participle.

§. 40. The past part. of strong verbs.

The regular ending is -en, rarely -on (-an, -un). There is also usually a prefix *ge-* (older *gi-*), when the verb is not already compounded with a preposition or particle (cf. Siev., § 366; Cosijn, II., § 71). Inflected forms seldom show syn-

cope, (cf. Siev., § 296. n. 2; Eng. ed., n. 1). The Ps. and Rit. are normal, (cf. Zeuner, p. 58; Lindelöf, § 48).

R' has usually *-en* (3 forms lack *n*), seldom *-an*, *-æn*, *-un*; (*-en* 122, 19 inflected forms incl.; *-an* 7, *-æna* 1, *-un* 1, *-e* 3, inflected forms with syncope 7). Fifty forms, otherwise uncompounded, have the prefix *ge-*, but 25 are without *ge-*. The following occur:

Cl. I., *astigen* 8. 1; *gewitenæ* 2. 13; *gewriten* 4. 6; *awriten* 4. 7 etc. (8); *-e* 27. 37; *gewrigene* 6. 31; *bewrigenes* 10. 26; *unwrigan* 10. 26. Cl. II., *gecoren* 20. 16; *-enan* 24. 24; *-enu(m)* 24. 31; *-enum* 24. 22; *gecorænæ* 22. 14; *agoten* 9. 17 etc. (3); *lore* 5. 30; *forloren* 15. 24; *belocen* 25. 10. Cl. III., *druncennu(m)* 24. 49; *unbunde* 16. 19; *-en* 18. 18; *gebunde* 16. 19; *-en* 18. 18; *-ene* (ac. s. m.) 27. 2; *enne* 27. 15. 16; *geswunganne* (ac. s. m.) 27. 26; *urnen* 8. 24; *aswolten* 9. 18; *abolgenne* (pl.) 21. 15; 20. 24; *geworden* 9. 10 etc. (15); *worpen* 5. 13; 14. 24; *a-* 9. 25; 17. 21; *-ne* 8. 12; *toworpen* 24. 2; *acorfen* 3. 10; 7. 19. Cl. IV., *genumen* 24. 40 etc. (3); *genoman* 27. 59; *gebroken* 21. 44. Cl. V., *cwæden* 5. 21 etc. (7); *ge-* 5. 31; 8. 17; *a-* 4. 14; 22. 31; *-e* 26. 30; *cweden* 2. 17 etc. (3); *ge-* 21. 4; 13. 35; *a-* 2. 23 etc. (4); *-an* 12. 17; *agefen* 12. 13; *agefnæ* (ac. s. f.) 18. 25; *ongeten* 12. 33; *meten* 7. 2; 18. 23; *gesprecan* 12. 36; *tredan* 5. 13; *forlegene* 12. 39; 16. 4. Cl. VI., *ofer-færen* 14. 34; *âhæfen* 11. 23; *a-* 23. 12; *ofslaegen* 16. 21; *-slægene* 22. 4; *unðwegenu(m)* 15. 20. Red. vbs., *afongen* 4. 12; *gefongnæ* (n. pl. m.) 4. 24; *hongen* 28. 5; *a-* 18. 6; 26. 2; *-enne* 27. 38. 44; *-agongen* 15. 22; *gegangan* 10. 12; *forleten* 27. 21 etc. (9); *f(or)-* 12. 32; *forletne* 5. 32; 9. 2; *-ae* 9. 5; *haten* 9. 9 etc. (4); *gehalden* 9. 17; *salten* 5. 13; *sawen* (sown) 13. 19 (2); *gesauwen* 13. 20. 22. 23; *aswopen* 12. 44 (cf. Siev., § 397); *eknum* 24. 19.

Note. Instead of the past, pt. of *sêon*, forms of an adj, WS. *gesiene*, occur: *gesene* 6. 18; *geseanæ* 6. 1; *gesænæ* 6. 5; 23. 5; *gesêanæ* 6. 16. The form *ge-sægun* 27. 55, gloss to *videntes*, is like the pret. pl. (cf. § 35), but the sense requires the past, pt.

§ 41. The past part. of weak verbs.

The regular ending of Cl. I. is *-ed*, *-d*, (after certain final cons.) *-t*, (cf. Siev., §§ 402, 406, 407); of Cl. II., (in order of frequency) *-od*, *-ad*, *-ud*, (before back vowels of inflectional endings usually *-ed*), (cf. Siev., § 413; Cosijn II., p. 190); of Cl. III., originally *-d*, later modified by analogy, (cf. Siev., § 416). The prefix *ge-* occurs usually, as in st. vbs., (cf. § 40). The Ps. is normal in general; but Cl. II. has *-ad* (8 *-ed* in inflected forms), and 2 forms with syncope,

(cf. Zeuner, § 53. 2). Rit. shows no special peculiarity; *-ad* (2 *-að*) is the ending in Cl. II., seldom (chiefly uninflected forms) *-ed*, rarely *-od*. The prefix *gi-* is sometimes wanting, (cf. Lindelöf, pp. 85, 98).

R' has the endings: Cl. I., *-ed* 102, *-id* 2, *-ede* 5, *-d* 20, *-de* 28 (*-u* 1, *un* 1), *-ad* 4, *-eþ* 2, *-æþ* 1, *-t* 13, *-tæ* 2, *-te* 1; Cl. II., *-ad* 26 (*-ard* 2), *-ade* 7, *-adne* 1, *-adum* 1, *-æd* 1, *-ed* 8, *-ede* 1; Cl. III., *-d* 1. The prefix *ge-* occurs in verbs otherwise uncompounded: Cl. I., (64); Cl. II., (33). *ge-* is wanting: Cl. I., (59); Cl. II., (11); Cl. III., (1).

These forms are found:

Cl. I., *alegd* (with syncope as in WS.) 1. 18; *aseted* 3. 10; 5. 14; 28. 6; *geseted* 8. 9, (as in Rit., cf. Lindelöf, p. 96. a); but *gesett* 5. 1, (as regularly in WS., cf. Cosijn, II., § 117); *styred* 11. 8; 27. 51; *gewemmed* 5. 28; *forberned* 13. 40; *gebyrde* (onerati) 11. 28; *abælgede* 26. 8 preserves the middle vowel, also *ge-cerrede* 13. 15; *akenned* 1. 16 etc. (8); *akende* 19. 12; *frum-kendu* (sb.) 1. 25; *depid* 3. 13; *-ed* 3. 14; *ge-* 3. 16; *gedæled* 12. 25. 26; *gedęled* 12. 25; *doemed* 7. 1; *doemde* 7. 2; *gedrôefed* 2. 3; *gedryfed* 14. 26; *gedræfde* 24. 6; *adwæsced* 25. 8; *geeced* 6. 33; *gefylled* 1. 22 etc. (14); *-ad* 27. 9; *fylde* 15. 37; *befest* (with syn.) 1. 18; *afirred* (auferetur) 9. 15; 13. 12; 21. 43; *afyrred* 25. 29; *afirde* (exterriti) 28. 4 seems due to a misunderstanding of the Latin; *afyrde* (eunuchi) 19. 12 (3); *afroefred* 2. 18; *-ede* 5. 4 (as in WS., cf. Siev., § 406); *gehêred* 6. 7; *gehered* 2. 18; *gehoered* 28. 14; *geherde* 15. 12; *gehæled* 8. 8 etc. (3); *gehæled* 8. 13; *ahýded* 5. 14; *ahyded* 13. 35; *ge-* 13. 44; *hæmde* 22. 30; *gehroêred* 24. 29; *inhroered* 21. 10. 30; *genægeþ* (for *-ed*) 23. 12; *hyngrede* (as in WS.) 12. 1; *gehwerfæþ* 7. 6; *-ad* 16. 23; *mis-werfde* 17. 17; *gelæred* 13. 52; but *for-lærd* (with syn.) 27. 63; *gelærde* (pl.) 28. 15; *læded* 4. 1; *lædde* (ductus) 27. 3 is evidently a mistake; *gelædde* (pl.) 10. 18; 24. 24; *alefed* 12. 2; 14. 4; *alêfed* 12. 12; *læfed* 24. 2; *ge-* 12. 4; *a-* 20. 15; 22. 17; *gemoêted* 1. 18; *gemæred* 28. 15; *gemænged* 27. 34; *nemned* 4. 18 etc. (5); *ge-* 21. 13; *nemde* 23. 7. 8; *ge-* 5. 9; *næmned* 27. 8; *ge-* 27. 33; *nemnad* 26. 14; *nemneþ* 5. 19; *ræsed* 8. 32; *gerimde* 10. 30; *ge-onretta* (for *-orrette*, *ôrrette*) 22. 6; *sended* 18. 8 etc. (6); *ge-* 18. 9; *a-* 15. 24 etc. (3); *sende* 23. 37; *asendun* (= *um*) 13. 47; *gesælde* (alligatam) 21. 2; *scynde* 24. 22; *scýnde* 24. 22; *besenked* 18. 6; *to-stænced* 26. 31; *asterfed* 15. 13; *ontyned* 7. 7 etc. (4); *ontynde* 3. 16; 27. 52; *wæled* 15. 22; *-id* 8. 6; *gewælde* 9. 36; *awæged* 2. 16; *wepned* 19. 4; *awôsted* 12. 25; *gewroeged* 27. 12; *se wærgad* 13. 19; *awærgede* (without syn.) 25. 41;

beboht 26. 9; bohte 10. 29; *ge-bohtæ* (gen. sg. wk., with loss of *n*) 27. 9; broht 14. 11; 18. 24; *ge-* 12. 22; gereht 1. 23; sald 7. 7 etc. (17); *ge-* 28 18; beþæht 6. 29; worht 11. 21. 23 (2); 14. 2; *ge-* 11. 21; gecæged (cf. Siev., § 408. 3) 20. 16; gecægde 22. 14.

Note. 1. It may be seen from the above examples that the middle vowel is usually (only 2 exceptions) preserved in *R'* after stems in *-d*, *-t*, when uninflected, (as in North. and Kt., cf. Siev., § 402), but is syncopated in inflected forms. Three inflected forms (stems in *-lg*, *-rg*, *-rr*) preserve *-e*. Stems in vocalic *r* preserve the vowel as in WS.

Cl. II., gebloetsad 21. 9; 23. 39; gebletsade 25. 34; gebeormad 13. 33; bodad 24. 14; 26. 13; geclensad 8. 3; costad 4. 1; adrugade 12. 10; geendad 7. 28; *gefæt*ted 13. 15; gefrētwad 12. 44; *fulwih*ted 3. 14; gearwad 22. 4; *-lar*wad 25. 34; *Iarward* (= ad) 20. 23; *ge-* 25. 41; *ge-gearwæd* 11. 8; gegearwade 11. 8; ungegeradne 22. 11; āhæfgad 26. 43; gehalgad 6. 9; ofer- heowad 17. 2; *ge-inc*-fullad 11. 6; gelaðadum 22. 3. 4; gemyngad 2. 22; *næg*led 27. 23. 26; genæglad 27. 22; *ge-niht*sumað 5. 12; niðrad 12. 37; 27. 3; gesomnad 13. 40; *-e* 26. 3 etc. (5); *-ede* 25. 32; gestapulad 7. 25; *gesoþfæ*sted 12. 37; *-fæ*st 11. 19; ðægnad 20. 28; prowad 27. 44; *ge-unrots*ad 17. 23; *-ed* 14. 9; *-ade* 18. 31; 26. 22; *bewed*ded 1. 18; weorþade 6. 2; ewisade 12. 16. Cl. III., sægd 26. 13.

Note. 2. The participles (strong and weak) might, perhaps, have been better placed under Tense-formation of the several classes (cf. Lindelöf, § 49), but have been collected here for convenience of reference.

Tense-formation.

A. Strong Verbs.

1. Ablaut Verbs.

§ 42. Class I. of ablaut verbs, (cf. Siev., § 382). There are 16 simple verbs of this class in *R'*.

a) The vowel of the present is *i*:

e. g., ariseð 12. 42; astigest 11. 23 etc., (s. I., § 51. a; II., §§ 25—33); but *hriopan* (for *ripan*) 12. 1 has a short vowel and *u*-, *o*-umlaut as in the North. (cf. Siev., § 382, n. 3). Of contract verbs only these occur: *asiendē* (preserving *i*, cf. Siev., § 166. 4) 23. 24; *-wreoþ* (ind. pl.) 16. 17; and the infin. *-wrigan* 11. 27, with *g* from the 3d and 4th stems, and with *i*, as in North. (cf. Siev., § 383 n. 2).

b) The vowel of the 1st and 3d pret. ind. is *ā*:

gegrap 14. 31; hrân 20. 34; æt- 8. 3. 15; æt-hran 9. 20. 29; 17. 7; oferlap 9. 1; rās 27. 64; geras 25. 27; a- 9. 7 etc. (8); â- 8. 15; scân 17. 2; slat 26. 65; stag 8. 23; a- 7. 27 etc. (3); astâg 7. 25; 15. 39; â- 3. 16; astahg 5. 1; gewat 2. 14 etc. (7), (cf. I., § 57. a).

c) The vowel of the 2d sg. and of the pl. pret. ind. (R' wants the pret. opt) is *i*:

e. g., onwriga 11. 25; cnidun 21. 35; etc., (cf. §§ 34, 35). *u*-, *o*-umlaut of the stem (cf. Siev., § 376) occurs in: wreogan 25. 38. 43; wriogan 25. 36.

d) The vowel of the past part. is *i*:

e. g., awriten 4. 7 etc. (cf. I., § 27. a; II., § 40).

§ 43. Class II. of ablaut verbs, (cf. Siev., §§ 384—5). Thirteen verbs of this class occur in R'.

a) The vowel of the present is *eo* (2 forms have *i*), in certain verbs *ū*:

e. g., bebeodeþ 4. 6; geotaþ 9. 17 etc. (cf. I., § 62. a; II., §§ 25—33); *eu* occurs before *w* in *reuwe* 18. 10; (but *hreoweþ* 15. 32). *ū* occurs in: gelucaþ 23. 13; alucæ (opt. pl.) 13. 29; sukendra 21. 16. These forms of the contr. vbs. *tēon*, *fleon*, are found: -teonde 13. 48; ateoh 18. 9; fleap (ind. pl.) 23. 33; fleoþ 24. 16; (imp.) 10. 23; fleoh 2. 13. The 3d sg. (2d is wanting) does not have umlaut (s. § 25, and cf. Cosijn, II., § 81). An *ī* appears in *ligende* 5. 11; *smikende* 12. 20, ›without apparent cause for umlaut‹ (cf. Siev., § 165. note; § 384. note 1. a), but probably due to the following palatal, (s. I., § 63, and cf. Lindelöf, p. 87).

b) The 1st and 3d sg. pret. ind. has *ēa*:

bebead 8. 4 etc. (11); for- 9. 30; geceas 12. 18; ageat 26. 7.

c) The plural pret. ind. (2d sg. is wanting in R'), and the pret. opt. have the vowel *u*:

e. g., gecuron 13. 48 etc., (s. § 34); flugan 3. 7 is the only opt. form. Grammatical change (s—r; h—g) appears regularly as in examples cited.

d) The past part. has the vowel *o*:

e. g., belocen 25. 10, (s. § 40). Gram. change (s—r) appears in: gecoren 20. 16 etc.; forloren 15. 24 etc.

§ 44. Class III of ablaut verbs, (cf. Siev., §§ 386—9). There are 31 verbs of this class in R'.

a) The original vowel of the present is *e*, changed to *i*, *eo*, in WS. before certain consonants. There are three main cases.

α) Verbs in nasal + cons. have *i*, as in WS.:

e. g., *gelimpeþ* 18. 13; *drincaþ* 6. 31 etc., (s. §§ 25—33). Here belong the verbs »run« and »burn« which, after experiencing metathesis, have followed verbs in *r* + cons. in modifying *e* to *eo*, (cf. Siev., § 386. note 2). These forms occur: *eornende* 28. 8; *beornane* 13. 30; *beornende* 13. 42; *beornað* 5. 15. Rit. has *iorna* (cf. Lindelöf, p. 88).

β) Verbs in *l* + cons. have the vowel *e*:

e. g., *helpeð* 16. 26; *delfan* 24. 43; etc., (s. §§ 25—33); *æ* for *e* occurs once (cf. I. § 15), *swælteþ* 15. 4; but *sweltan* 26. 35.

γ) Verbs in *r* + cons. (vbs. in *h* + cons. are wanting) usually have the vowel *eo* as in WS., but sometimes *ea*, *e* (*æ* etc.). *eo* occurs in:

e. g., *weorþan* 24. 6; *weorþ* 18. 8; *aceorþ* 5. 30 etc., (34 forms with *eo*), (s. I., § 19. b; II., §§ 25—33). *ea* in: *wearp* (imp.) 21. 21; *awearpa* (opt. s.) 8. 31; *awearpe* (inf.) 7. 5; *gewearpaþ* 7. 6; *wearþe* (opt. s.) 5. 30. *e* (without apparent reason) in: *awerþ* 5. 29; *werþe* (opt. s.) 24. 20; but *bergaþ* (cauete) 16. 11 has *e* on account of the following palatal. Other variations are: *gewærþe* (opt. pl.) 4. 3; *awoerpeþ* 12. 24; i-umlaut appears in *utwyrpe* (eicio) 12. 27. 28; also in *awyrpeþ* (ind. pl.) 12. 27, probably inflected weak. The 2d and 3d sg. pres. ind. are regularly without umlaut, e. g. *werpeð* 9. 16 (cf. Siev. § 371. n.), but *gewyrfeþ* (demolitur) 6. 19. 20, *gewyrð* 13. 32. Rit. has *o* (a) after *win* the above verbs, (cf. Lindelöf, p. 88).

δ) Other verbs of this class are irregular in the present, (cf. Siev., § 389). R' has:

tobersteþ (ind. pl.) 9. 17, where *r* + cons. is due to metath.; *to-bregdan* 12. 29; *-bregdeþ* 12. 29; *frægnast* (WS. *frignan*) 19. 17; *-spurne* (opt. s.) 4. 6; *-spurnaþ* 24. 10.

b) The vowel of the 1st and 3d. sg. pret. ind., originally *a*, is also modified in WS. by following consonants.

α) Verbs in nasal + cons. have *a*, *o*, (cf. I., § 4):

gelamp 11. 1 etc. (3); *blan* 14. 32; *gebond* 14. 3; *ongan* 16. 22; 26. 37; *in-gann* 4. 17; *ongon* 26. 74; *in-* 11. 7; 14. 30; *-gonn* 11. 20 etc. (3); *bewand* 27. 59.

Here belongs *arn* (with metath.) 27. 48. (WS. *orn*, cf. Cosijn, II, § 85. 2).

β) Verbs in *l* + cons. have *ea* in WS. (cf. Siev., § 387). R' has *ā* (3), *æ* (2):

gald 17. 24; *aswalt* 22. 25. 27; (*be-*, *ge-*) *dælf* 25. 18; 21. 33, anal. with *bær*, *sæt* etc., (cf. I., p. 22).

γ) Verbs in *r* + cons. have *ea* in WS. (cf. Siev., § 388).

R' has *ā* (7), *ea* (6):

warð 9. 22; *ge-* 7. 28 etc. (6); *wearð* 22. 2; *for-* 18. 11; *wearp* 21. 12; 27. 5; *ut-* 9. 33; *a-* 8. 16.

δ) Other variations of this class have chiefly *æ*, (cf. Siev., § 389). R' has *æ* (1 *e*):

gebrægd 26. 51; *frægn* 16. 13; 27. 11; *ge-* 22. 41; *strægdæ* (1. sg.) 25. 26 is inflected weak as in WS., (cf. Siev., *ibid.* note); *toberst* 27. 51 has *e* for *æ*, (cf. I., § 1. c).

c) The vowel of the pret. ind. pl. (2d sg. is wanting) and of the pret. opt. is regularly *u*, as in WS., but R' has several forms with umlaut, (20 *u*, 7 *y*); *u* in:

e. g., *funden* 26. 60; *sungan* 11. 17; *urnon* 8. 28; *wurdon* 19. 12 etc. (s. §§ 35. 36). *y* occurs (only after *w*) in the opt. (proper but rare, cf. Siev., § 377): *wyrðe* 24. 22; *gewyrde* 26. 5; (*swælte* alt. to) *swylte* 22. 24; the following forms may, perhaps, be opt., though I have considered them ind., in which case *y* must be due to analogy: *wyrdun* 27. 45; -on 15. 24; *wyrðon* 10. 6; *wyrpon* 7. 22. Gram. change (ð—d) is disturbed by infl. of the present in 2 cases out of 13. *stræydun* 21. 8 (2) is weak as in the sg. *brustæn* 27. 51 is without metath., (cf. the sg.). *g* is preserved in *frugnon*, 22. 23; -un 17. 10; but *frugan* 12. 10 wants *n*, (s. § 35).

d) The vowel of the past part. is *u* before *n* + cons., *o* in all other cases:

e. g., *gebunden* 18. 18 etc.; (of course *urnen* 8. 24); *aswolten* 9. 18; *acorfen* 3. 10 etc. (s. § 40). The part. of *frignan* is wanting. Gram. change (ð—d) is always observed in *geworden* 9. 10 etc. (15).

§ 45. Class IV of ablaut verbs, (cf. Siev., § 390).

R' has 5 verbs of this class.

a) The vowel of the present is *e*:

e. g., *bere* (opt. sg.) 16. 24; *brecanne* 5. 17; *forstelap* 6. 19 etc. One form has *æ*: *forstælan* (opt. pl.) 27. 64, (cf. I., § 15. b).

The irreg. verbs, *cuman*, *niman*, have *u*, *i* as in WS.:

e. g., *cume* (ind. 1. s.) 8. 7; *genim* 2. 20 etc. (for all forms see §§ 25–33). Only *cuman* has *i*-umlaut in the 2d and 3dsg. ind.: *cymest* 3. 14; but also *cumest* 5. 24; the 3d sg., however, has *y* in all cases (18), and *y* has even passed over into the pl.: *cymeþ* 23. 36; -ð 7. 14, (but 5 forms with *u*); into the opt. (cf. Zeuner, p. 105; Lindelöf, p. 89): *cyme* 8. 9; 10. 13; (but 4 with *u*); into the imp.: *cym* 9. 18; 19. 21; -eþ 21. 38; 25. 34, (but 5 with *u*); and into the pres. part.: *cymende* 2. 8 etc. (3); -e 16. 28, (but 22 with *u*). *u*-, *o*-, umlaut (cf. Siev., § 370; Lindelöf, p. 89) occurs in: *beoran* 7. 18 (2); *niomaþ* (ind. pl.) 26. 52, but *nimaþ* 19. 11); *nioman* (inf.) 5. 40; 19. 12; *nioma* 5. 42; and even the inflected inf., *niomane* 15. 33, (but 2 have *i*).

b) The 1st and 3d sg. pret. ind have *æ* (e):

bær 8. 17; *ge-* 1. 25; *bęr* 14. 11; *bræc* 15. 36; 26. 26; *bręc* 14. 19. *cuman* and *niman* have *o*, probably = *ø*, (cf. Siev., § 390, note 2), though in no case geminated or provided with an accent; for *a*, common before nasals in this text, never appears in these forms: *cwom* 4. 13 etc. (23); *cwo(m)* 21. 23; 26. 36; *quom* 28. 9; *cuom* 5. 17 etc. (20); *fore-* 17. 25; *cuo(m)* 2. 21; 15. 29; *com* 17. 12; 24. 39; 25. 10; *genom* 27. 24 etc. (15).

c) The 2d sg. and the pl. pret. ind. together with the pret. opt. have *ê* (*ô* in *cuman*, *niman*) in WS. R' has *é*, *æ*, (cf. I. § 43. b), and *ô* in the irreg. vbs.:

beron (ind.) 20. 12, (Rit. has *ê*, cf. Lindelöf, p. 89); *forstælen* (opt.) 28. 13; *cwome* (2d sg.) 8. 29; 26. 50; *cwomun* 19. 3 etc.; *noman* 26. 55 etc. (s. §§ 35, 36 for all forms).

d) The past part. has *o* (*u*, one *o*, in *niman*; the part. of *cuman* is wanting):

gebroken 21. 44; *genumen* 24. 40. 41 (2); but *genoman* 27. 59, perhaps due to the influence of the pret. (cf. I., § 38).

§ 46. Class V. of ablaut verbs, (cf. Siev., § 391).

R' has 13 verbs of this class.

a) The vowel of the present is regularly *e* in WS., but those verbs that form the pres. with *jo* have *i*. R' has *e*, but very often *æ*, characteristic of this text, (s. I., §. 15). For all examples see §§ 25–33. Forms with *æ* (e) are:

cwæpe (ind. 1. s.) 5. 39. 44; (opt. s.) 5. 22; 21. 3; *cwæpað* (ind. pl.) 11. 18. 19; 23. 16. 30; -þ 21. 25; (imp. pl.) 26. 18; *cwæpan*

(opt. pl.) 5. 11; cwæþende 2. 5 etc. (58); -end(m) 22. 31; cwęþende 10. 7 etc. (3); cwæþ (imp. s.) 20. 21; ge- 4. 3; here belong certainly: cwæþ (pres. ind. 3. s., as fut.) 25. 34. 40. 41; 21. 25; 24. 48; cwaep 5. 22; probably also (though there may be change of tense to the pret. in some cases, the form being just the same, s. b, below) the following: cwæþ (ait) 4. 7 etc. (66); (dicit) 8. 20 etc. (17); (dicens) 25. 22 etc. (3); (dicente) 17. 26; cwęþ(ait) 11. 4 etc. (3); (dicit) 12. 44; agæfep (ind. 3. s.) 16. 27; This *æ* for *e* is confined, with a single exception, to the vb. *cweðan*, and is probably due to the preceding *w*. Rit. has *oe* (1 *æ*) in the same vb. (cf. Lindelöf, p. 90).

Note 1. *i*-umlaut and syncope of the 2d and 3d pres. ind. appear in *cwiðst* 27. 11; but *cwepest* 12. 23; -u 7. 4; *cwið* 15. 5; but *cweþap* 12. 32 (2), and with syncope, *cweþ(ait)* 8. 32 etc. (14); (dicit) 7. 21; 8. 26; -ð (inquit, pres. or pret. ?); see also *cwæþ* above; other regular verbs have *e*; *etep*, *ongetep* etc. (s. § 25). The contract verb *sēon* usually has the modified vowel *i*, and preserves *h*, as in WS. and Kt., (cf. Siev., § 374); *gesihst* 7. 5; -u 7. 3; but *gesees* 7. 3; *sis* 7. 3; *gesihþ* 5. 28; ð 6. 6; *gesið* 6. 4; but *geseoþ* (infl. of pl.) 6. 18; cf. also *gefeaoþ* (gaudebit) 18. 13, (Lindis. has the same form).

Note 2. Verbs in *jo*, for uniformity, often introduce the geminated cons. into the 2d and 3d sg.: *gebiddes* 4. 9; *biddeth* 7. 10; but with syn., *bit* 7. 8; *sitteþ* 19. 28. 29, (but 3 forms with *t*); *bidde* (imp.) 6. 6; (but *lige*, *site*, s. § 29).

Note 3. *u*-, *o*-umlaut is quite common (cf. Siev., § 370): *cweoþap* (ind. pl.) 16. 13; -ð 16. 2. 15; ge- 17. 20; *cweoþan* (opt. pl.) 23. 39; *ageofu* (ind. 1. s.) 18. 29; *ageofað* (ind. pl.) 21. 41; -þ 12. 36; (imp. pl.) 22. 21; *ageofan* (inf.) 27. 58; *ongeotað* (ind. pl.) 13. 13; even before a palatal in *spreocan* (inf.) 6. 7; and contrary to usage in North., (cf. Siev., § 371. note), *spreocaþ* (ind. 3. sg.) 12. 34. The verbs »give« and »get« show no palatal infl. in the pres. (cf. I., § 16. a).

b) The 1st and 3d pret. ind. have *æ* in WS. R' has *æ* (e); often *e*, (cf. I., § 1. c):

cwæþ (dixit) 2. 8 etc. (73); (dicebat 9. 21. 24; (dixerit, perf. subj.) 16. 12; (dixerat) 26. 75; -ð (dixit) 20. 7; *cwęþ* (dixit) 13. 57; 17. 26; *cweþ* (dixit) 9. 22; 11. 25; 12. 25; 15. 16. 27; -ð 12. 3, (s. also *cwæþ*, *cweþ* under a, above); Rit. has usually *oe* in this vb., as in the pres., (cf. Lindelöf, p. 90. 2)

Other preterits in R' are: *ēt* (cf. Siev., § 391. n. 3) 12. 4; *sprec* 13. 3 etc. (6); *spreç* 12. 46; *spræc* 9. 18 etc. (3); ge- 17. 5; *sæh* (s. I., § 7. a) 21. 19; ge- 3. 7 etc. (11); *gesæg* 3. 16; *gesægh* 4. 21; *geseah* 9. 36 etc. (6); *bæd* 27. 58; ge- 9. 18; *togebædd* 8. 2; *gebęd*

26. 42; bed 18. 29; ge- 15. 25; 26. 44; bedd 18. 26; sæt 24. 3; ge- 13. 1; 26. 58; sætt 4. 16; 26. 55. 69; sett 15. 29; 27. 19; ge- 13. 2; 28. 2, (gemination due to infl. of pres.).

c) The vowel of the remainder of the pret. ind. and of the opt. is *ê* in WS. R' has *ê* and *æ* in about the ratio of 5 : 4, (s. I., § 43, b; II., §§ 34, 35, 36):

cwæde 26. 25; cwedun 9. 34 etc.; bedon 16. 1 etc.

Note. The only case of palatal influence appears in *ongeotun* 24. 39, (but 5 forms with *ê*). *séon* has *g* instead of *w*: e. g., *segon* 15. 31 etc., (cf., Siev., § 391, note 5; Lindelöf, p. 91); the vowel is usually *ê* and *æ* in this vb., as in other verbs, but *ä* 3 times: *gesa-gun* 25. 37. 38. 44.

d) The past part. has *e* in WS. R' has *e*, but often *æ* in *cwæden* 5. 21 etc. (12), (s. § 40).

Gram. change (ð—d) is observed without exception in the pret. and past part. of *cweðan*. 13 participles, not already compounded, want the prefix *ge-*, 14 have *ge-*.

§ 47. Class VI. of ablaut verbs, (cf. Siev., § 392).

R' has eleven verbs of this class.

a) The vowel of the present is *a*, modified in certain verbs by surrounding consonants or by following *j*. For all forms s. §§ 25—33.

Note 1. R' prefers *æ* (*ê*) in *færan* (inf.) 2. 22; 16. 21; but *faran* 8. 28. Analogy has not carried *a* into the remaining forms: *færende* (s. I., § 2. a) 25. 14; *fær* (imp.) 2. 20, (cf. Siev., § 49, note 2); but *færeþ* (imp. pl., following the sg.) 11. 3.

Note 2. Palatal umlaut affects the vowel in *wexan* 13. 30 etc. (s. I., p. 25); but *onsæcest* 26. 34; *onsæceþ* 10. 33 may have *i*-umlaut (cf. I., p. 28); other forms of this vb. are; *onsaee* (ind. 1. s.) 10. 33; &*sace* 26. 35; *-sæce* (opt.) 16. 24, (cf. I., § 2. b); in *ascâkeþ* (impl. pl.) 10. 14 the vowel is unchanged but accented.

Note 3. The imp. of verbs which form their pres. with *jo* lacks *e*, as in North., (cf. Siev., § 372, note): *hef* 21. 21; *swer* 5. 33 (cf. § 46. a). Otherwise these vbs. conform to WS. usage.

Note 4. The contr. vb. *slân* has umlaut (s. I., p. 24 and »Nachträge») and twice preserves *h* (*g*) in the 2d and 3d sg. ind.: *slægst* 23. 37; *slæhþ* 10. 28; but *slæþ* 5. 21; *h* is even extended to the pl.; and the vowel is like that of the sg.: *slæhþ* (occident) 24. 9; *ofslægþ* 17. 23; but *ofslæþ* 23. 34 (cf. Siev., § 374. note).

The other contr. vb. in R' (þwah etc.) wants the 2d and 3d sg.

b) The vowel of the pret. is *ô* throughout:

The 1st and 3d sg.: slog 26. 51. 68; of- 2. 16; 14. 10; &soc 26. 72; onsôc 26. 70; stod 13. 2; ge- 2. 9; stôd 27. 11; ge- 20. 32; ðwog 27. 24; weox 13. 26 follows the redup. vbs. (cf. Siev., § 392, note 3); the pl. is wexon 13. 7. For all forms of the pl. ind., and of the opt. sg. and pl. s. §§ 35. 36. Gram. change (h—g) is disturbed in slog, ðwog by the infl. of the pl., and *g* has made its way even into the pres., see above, and cf. slag (imp.) 5. 21.

c) The past part. has *a*, sometimes *æ* in WS. R' has 5 *æ* (*ae*), 1 *e* (before *g*):

e. g., -færen 14. 34 etc., (s. § 40).

2. Reduplicating Verbs.

§ 48. Reduplicating verbs, (cf. Siev., §§ 393—7).

There are 21 verbs of this class in R'.

a) The whole present and the past part. have the same vowel in these verbs. The only exceptions in R' are the contr. vbs. *fôn*, *hôn*, and the past. pt. *aswopen* 12. 44, the only form (in text) of *aswâpan*, (cf. Siev., § 397).

Note 1. *i*-umlaut of the 2d and 3d sg. pres. ind. occurs only in: onfoeð 10. 40 etc. (10 forms); and with *h* preserved, onfoehp 13. 20; but *onfoohp* (accipiet) 19. 29; cræd (cantet) 26. 75; cræd 26. 34. For all forms of the pres. s. §§ 25—33; of the past part. s. § 40.

Note 2. The passive form *hatte* occurs in 2. 23; 13. 55; 26. 36; 27. 33 (all. pres.).

b) The pret. has either *e*, *ê* or *eo*, *éo* throughout in WS. (cf. Siev., § 395). R' has occasionally *e* (usually before *w*) interchanging with *eo* in the same verb. In the sg. (1st and 3d), the forms are:

creow 26. 74; dreord 14. 5; feng 1. 24; on- 8. 17 etc. (6); ond- 25. 16; heht 14. 2 etc. (7); ge- 14. 7; geheold 19. 20; heow 26. 51; ge-heu 27. 60; let 19. 8; for- 14. 15 etc. (11); seow 25. 26 etc. (5); speou 27. 24; slepte 8. 24 is weak as in WS., (cf. Cosijn, II, p. 145; Siev., § 395, n. 2; Lindelöf, p. 93); the pl. is sleptun (2), but also *slepade* 25. 5. For all forms of the pl. and of the opt. s. §§ 35, 36.

Note. 3. Those preterits having *e* and *eo* are; fellun 7. 25, (but 4 forms with *éo*, 1 with *ea*); cf. also gefetun 13. 7. 8 probably a mistake for *-fellun*; sewe (2d sg. ind.) 25. 24, but geseowe 13. 27,

(s. also above); *blewan* 7. 25; but *bleowen* 7. 27; *forleortun* 19. 27 occurs only once (18 forms sg. and pl. with *ē*); but *dreord*, *-un* is the only form found (s. § 25).

B. Weak Verbs.

§ 49. Class I. of weak verbs, (cf. *Siev.*, §§ 400, 410).

There are about 114 verbs of this class in *R'*.

a) The present stem has *i*-umlaut throughout. For all forms see §§ 25—33. Original short stems (except those in *r*) regularly have the middle cons. geminated in OE., with the exception of the 2d and 3d sg. ind. and the sg. imp. In *R'* gemination is occasionally wanting:

gesete (ind. 1. s.) 25. 23, (but 3 forms with *tt*); *apenede* 8. 3 etc. (3); *wæceþ* (imp. pl.) 25. 13, (but 4 with *cc*); *wæcende* 24. 43. Oftener, for uniformity, gemination is extended to the 3d sg. and to the imp. sg. (cf. § 46. a): *fremmaþ* (3d sg.) 7. 24 etc. (5); *setteþ* 9. 16; 24. 47, (but 3 with *t*); *selleþ* 7. 11; 25. 29; *-aþ* 5. 25 etc. (6); *ræccet* 2. 6; *gesette* (imp. s.) 9. 18; *selle* 17. 27 etc. (3); *syлле* 19. 21, (but 2 *sele*, 2 *sel*); *arecce* 13. 36; 15. 15; *Rit* shows similar variation (cf. *Lindelöf*, §§ 45, 51).

Note. The *j* is preserved in *styrgan* (inf.) 23. 4, (2d and 3d sg. are wanting); cf. also *swerige* (inf.) 26. 74 etc.; but *sweraþ* (ind. 3. s.) 23. 16 etc. regular, (Cl. VI., st.). Of long stems only *cegan* 22. 3 etc. preserves *j*.

b) Formation of the preterit. There are three main cases.

α) Original short stems. Some of these have *-ed* + *-e*, *-est* etc. (s. §§ 37, 38), the final consonant of the stem remaining ungeminated; but verbs in *d*, *t* have *-d* + *e* etc. (which becomes *-te*, *-test* etc. after *t*), (cf. *Siev.*, 401).

R' has:

byrede 12. 4; *styredun* 27. 39; *apenede* 12. 13; 14. 31; *werede* 3. 14 but *alægde* (as in WS.) 27. 60; *lægdun* 15. 30; *sette* 18. 2 etc. (7); *ge-* 13. 24 etc. (5); *gesætte* 28. 16; *settun* 27. 37; *ge-* 26. 15; 27. 29.

β) Original long stems join *-de* etc. (*-te* etc. after *p*, *t*, *c*, *ff*, *ss*, and *x*) »immediately to the radical syllable«, and

have i-umlaut like the short stems. Geminatio is simplified before the ending *-de* etc. After *p*, *t*, *c*, *ff*, *ss*, *x*, the ending *-de* usually becomes *-te*; *-ðde* becomes *-dde* in late texts. The comb. *dd*, (*tt*) resulting from adding the pret. ending to verbs in *d* and *t* is simplified after a cons. Stems in cons. + *n*, *l*, *r* are irregular and often have *-ede* (*-ode*), (cf. Siev., §§ 404, 405).

R' is normal in the main, but occasionally introduces a middle vowel, and in some cases lacks umlaut. Regular forms of the sg. are:

æalde 25. 5; inbergde 27. 34; forbernde 22. 7; kende 1. 2. 16; gecerde 2. 22; 9. 22; cyste 26. 49; depte 3. 6; ge-fylde 27. 48; fæstæ 4. 2; foerde 9. 27 etc.; afældæ 21. 12; groette 1. 25; gehêrde 2. 3 etc.; gehælde 4. 24 etc.; ahydde 25. 18 etc.; lærde 5. 2 etc.; læfde 22. 25; lædde 17. 1 etc.; -lihte 28. 1; gemette 20. 6 etc.; sende 18. 30 etc.; ontynde 5. 2 etc.; þyrste 25. 35 etc.; ondwyrd 11. 25 etc.; werfde 9. 22; awyrgde 27. 5; (for plural forms s. § 38).

The middle vowel appears in:

bebyrgedun 14. 12; fylgedun (orig. Cl. III., cf. Siev., § 416 n. 6) 19. 2; fylgendun (for *-edun*) 4. 25; (but fylgdun 9. 27); gleosed 28. 20; of course in: hyngrede (cf. Siev., § 405. 5) 12. 3; 25. 42; *-ade* (as in North.) 4. 2; *hingr-* 21. 18; *yng-* 25. 35; with loss of *w*: wælede 27. 60; 28. 2; ungeredun 27. 31, (cf. Siev., § 408. 1).

The following are without umlaut:

gemotte (prob. an error) 8. 10 (but 8 forms, sg. and pl., with *é*, *oe*, s. I., § 54. a); abriodde 22. 7 (fr. brêoðan, st. vb. Cl. II., infl. wk.) æt-eawde (cf. Siev., § 408. 2) 2. 13 etc. (7); -un 27. 53; -en (opt.) 24. 1; eaude 2. 19; leorde 11. 1; ge- 19. 1; liorde 9. 27; ge- 12. 9, (cf. Siev., § 403. n. 1); steordon 19. 13; gestrionde 25. 20 etc. (4).

Note. *n* is: lost in nemde 1. 25; -un 10. 25, (cf. Cosijn, II., p. 166). *j* is preserved in: cegde 14. 30 etc. (3); ceigde 20. 25 etc. (s. I., § 61).

γ) Certain irregular verbs in Germanic add *-de* (*-te*) directly to the radical syl. without any middle vowel, and therefore want i-umlaut. R' has these forms:

salde 10. 1 etc. (18); ge- 9. 8; *getaktæ* 3. 7, (cf. Siev., § 407. n. 4); worhte 13. 58 etc. (6); ge- 11. 20; 19. 4; -æ 25. 16; gebohte 13. 46; 20. 7; þohte 1. 20; sohte 13. 45; ge- 26. 16; a- 2. 16; brohte 17. 16 etc. (4). The pl. and opt. forms may be found in §§ 38, 39.

Note. In imitation of these is formed (cf. Siev., § 407. b): *-nealehte* 21. 34; *nealehtun* 21. 1; but *geneoliete* 9. 20. (s. I., § 58 d.)

c) The past part. has been treated already at sufficient length in § 41.

§ 50. Class II. of weak verbs (cf. Siev., §§ 411—414). There are about 118 verbs of this class in R'.

a) The characteristic middle vowel of the present, WS. *-i-* (*-ig-*), appears in R' chiefly in the form *-ig-* (about 63 *ig*, 15 *i*, 1 *g*), but is often wanting altogether (56 times). The inflected inf. (4 forms) lacks this vowel (s. § 32), and the pres. part. lacks it 24 times in 27, (s. § 33). Rarely (3 times) the vowel *i* appears in the 3d sg. pres. ind. (after the analogy of the pl.), but not at all in the 2d sg. or in the imp. sg. For all forms and full statistics see §§ 25—33.

Note. *u-*, *o*-umlaut appears in: *hleonigaþ* (ind. pl.) 8. 11; *geteorige* (opt. pl.) 15. 32; *cliopað* (imp.) 22. 9; and even in the 3d sg. ind. (anal. of pl. forms), *cliopaþ* 12. 19; *cleopaþ* 27. 47.

b) The preterit in WS. usually has the ending *-oð* + the personal endings *-e*, *-est* etc., sometimes *-að* + *-e* etc., seldom *-uðe*, *-ede* etc. (cf. Siev., § 412). The Ps. has the middle vowel *-a-*, sometimes *-e-* (in sg., 173 *a*, 31 *e*; in pl. 55 *a*, 40 *e*), (cf. Zeuner, p. 115). Rit. has *a*, in very few cases *e*, (cf. Lindelöf, p. 98).

R' has in the sg., 86 *a*, 17 *e*; in the pl., 66 *a*, 8 *e*, 1 *u*. These verbs occur in the sg., 1 st and 3d, (for the 2d sg. s. § 37, b):

*a*hsade 2. 4; *a*xsade 22. 35; *biatadae* 9. 30; *bled-*, *bletsade*, 14. 19; 26. 26; *bodede* 9. 35 (may be for *bodende*); *clænsade* 11. 5; *cliopade* 20. 32 etc. (4); *costade* 19. 3; *gedæfnade* 18. 33; *-ðef-* 23. 23; *adumbede* 22. 12; *adrugade* 21. 20; *gedwalade* 18. 12; *eardade* 2. 23; *ge-* 4. 13; *efalsade* 26. 65; *ge-endale* 19. 1 etc. (4); *gefirinade* 27. 4; *folgade* (cf. Siev., § 416. n. 6) 9. 19 etc. (2); *frohtade* 14. 30; *ge-gadrade* 19. 6; *Iarwede* 26. 12; *hleonedede* (cf. Siev., § 416. n. 6) 26. 20; *hlion-* 9. 10; *ge-incfullade* 15. 12; *gelaþede* 22. 8; *licade* 14. 6; *ge-* 3. 17 etc. (4); *geliornade* 2. 7; *milsade* 18. 33; *milsade* 14. 14; *monade* 25. 19; *ge-* 14. 8; *pleagade* (cf. Siev., § 416. n. 6) 14. 6; *ricsade* 2. 22; *ofer-scuade* 17. 5; *smorede* 18. 28; *gesomnade* 2. 4; 22. 41; (*ond-*, *and-*, *on-*) *swarade* 24. 2 etc. (26); *-ede* 21. 21 etc. (7); *ond-sweorede* 16. 17; *swigade* (cf. Siev., § 416. n. 8) 26. 63; *timbrade* 7. 26; *ge-* 7. 24; 21. 33; *ðægnade* 8. 15; *pongade* 26. 27; *ðreatade* 17. 18; *prowade* 9. 20 etc. (3); *for-wisnade* 21. 19; *witgade* 15. 7; *wunade* 21. 17; *gewunede* 27. 15; *wundrade* 27. 14. For pl. forms see § 38.

Note. *u*-, *o*-umlaut appears in 15 forms: cliopade, -un etc. (9); hleonedē, -un, etc. (4); pleagade; ondsweorede, (s. above and § 38).

c) The past part. has been sufficiently treated in § 41.

§ 51. Class III. of weak verbs (cf. Siev., §§ 415, 416).

R' has numerous forms of *secgan*, *habban*; a few of *lifgan*, *fēogan*; and the single forms: *ðreiga* (inf.) 16. 22; *gefreoge* (pres. opt. s.) 27. 43. 49. Other verbs originally belonging to this class, (cf. Siev., § 416, note 6) may be found under Classes I. and II.

a) The present. In WS. the 2d and 3d sg. pres. ind. and the sg. imp. of these verbs belong to Cl. II., all other present forms to Cl. I.

In R' *secgan* conforms to Cl. I. throughout the present as in Ps. The vowel of the radical syl. is *æ* (2 *e*). This may be due to the infl. of the pret. or, more probably, it is only *æ* for umlaut-*e* characteristic of this text, (s. I., § 12. b). Rit. also has *æ* (1 *e*) throughout (cf. Lindelöf, p. 99).

habban has in R':

ind. 2d and 3d sg., *hæfest* (3), *hæfeþ* (11), but *hefæþ* 5. 32; imp. s., *hæfe* (2); opt. s., *hæbbe* (8); pres. part., *hæbbende* (17), *hæbende* 4. 24; but keeps *a* always in the ind. and imp. pl. and in the one inf., *habbanne* 14. 4. Rit. shows a like interchange of *a* and *æ*, (cf. Lindelöf, § 53). The Ps. has only *a* in the pres. (cf. Zeuner, p. 117). For all forms of these vbs. see §§ 25—33.

Note 1. *lifgan* has *fg*, instead of *bb* (cf. Siev., § 416, note 2; Lindelöf § 53), in all forms of the pres. (5) except the 3d sg. ind., which has *u*-, *o*-umlaut, *leofaþ* 9. 18.

Note 2. The few forms of *fēogan* have the diphthongs *ie*, *ia*: *fiað* (ind. 3. s.) 6. 24; *fiegaþ* (pl.) 24. 10; *fiegæ* (opt. pl.) 5. 44.

b) The preterit adds *-de* etc. to the radical syl. without any middle vowel.

R' has:

sægde 13. 31 etc. (5); *ge-* 13. 24; *fore-* 28. 7; *hæfde* 18. 25 etc. (8); *hefde* 13. 5; *næfde* 18. 25; 22. 25; *lifde* 27. 63. The 2d sg. is wanting; for the pl. see § 38.

c) The past part. adds *-d* to the radical syl. R' has only *sægd* 26. 13.

C. Minor Groups.

§ 52. The Preteritive Presents (cf. Siev., §§ 417—425). The following occur in R':

a) wat (scio) 25. 24; 28. 5; (scit) 6. 32; 24. 36; without fusion with neg. (cf. Siev., § 420) *ne wat* (nescio) 26. 70; (ignorat) 24. 50; *wast* (scis) 15. 12; ind. pl., *witan* 24. 32. 44; *wutan* (s. I., § 33. d) 22. 16; 26. 2, (cf. Siev., § 420. note; Lindelöf, § 54. 1); with negative, *niton* 21. 27; *nytan* 20. 22; opt. sg., *wite* 9. 30; with neg., *nyte* 6. 3; opt. pl. *wite* (sciatis) 9. 6; introducing a hortatory clause and followed by the inf., *wutu* 21. 38; 26. 46; *hwute* 27. 49; imp. pl., *witap* 24. 43; *wite ge* 24. 33; pres. part., *witende* 12. 25; 26. 10; pret. ind. 3. s., *wiste* 12. 15; 16. 8; 27. 18; opt. s. 24. 43; opt. pl., *wiston* 12. 7; ind. 2. s., *wistes* 25. 26; past part., *witen* 10. 26.

b) Pres. ind. pl., *agun* 20. 25; inf., *agan* 10. 9; pret. ind. 3. s., *ahte* 1. 6; past part. as adj., *agene* (ins.) 27. 31. *conn* (noui) 26. 72; *con* (nescio) 25. 12; (noui) 11. 27 (2); *const* (sapis) 16. 23; ind. pl., *cunnun* 27. 65; -an 22. 29; 24. 42; 25. 13; *cunun* 20. 25; with substitution of the regular ending of the pres. pl., *cunnað* (nostis) 16. 3 (2); -*þ* (nostis) 7. 11; inf., *gecunnan* 13. 11; pret. opt. s., *cuþe* 7. 23; *cuðe* 26. 74; past. part. as adj., *ge-cuðne* 12. 16.

c) *ðearf* (opus habet) 21. 3; pl., *ðurfun* 6. 32; *ðurfe we* 26. 65; pres. part., *þurfende* (with vowel of pl.) 5. 3; *þorfende* 11. 5. Rit. has *ðorfende*, (cf. Lindelöf, § 54. 5); Lindis., *ðorfendo* Mt. 5. 3; 11. 5.

d) *durste* (timuit) 2. 22; *dy(r)ste* (ausus fuit) 22. 46.

e) Pres. ind. 1st and 3d s., *sceal* 3. 14; 26. 54; *scal* 11. 14 (cf. Lindelöf, § 54. 6); 2d s., *scealt* 18. 28; *scalt* 11. 3; pl., *sculon* 10. 9; 23. 10; 24. 6; 3. 15; *ne scule ge* (nolite) 6. 7; (without *ge*) 6. 8; opt. sg. *scyle* 17. 10; 26. 35; pret. ind. s., *sculde* 18. 28; *scalde* 18. 24; pl. *sculdon* 12. 14; 20. 10; opt. s., *scylde* 16. 21, (cf. Siev., § 423, note 1).

f) Pres. ind. 2. s., *gemynest* 27. 63; pret. ind. 3. s., *gemunde* 26. 75.

g) Pres. 1st and 3d sg., *mæg* 19. 12; 10. 28 etc. (12); 2d s., *mæht* (s. I. § 7. a) 5. 36; 8. 2; pl., *magun* 6. 24; 9. 15 etc. (6); -on 20. 22; opt. s., *mæge* 9. 28; 24. 24; 26. 39. 42. 53; pret. 3. s., *mæhte* 8. 28; 22. 46; 26. 9; 2d. s., *mæhtest* 26. 40; pl., *mæhton* 17. 16. 19.

h) Pres. 3. s. *mot* 12. 10; 27. 6; *môt* 19. 3; pret. pl. *mostun* 14. 36.

§ 53. Verbs in *-mi* (cf. Siev., §§ 426—430).

R' has the following forms:

a) The substantive verb (cf. Siev., § 427).

α) Root *es*:

pres. ind. 1. sg., *eam* 8. 9; 9. 21 etc. (13), (s. I., § 26. b) with neg., *nam* 8. 8; *næm* 3. 11; 2d sg., *eart* 14. 33 etc. (10); *earð* 6. 9; *arþu* 11. 3, (cf. Lindelöf, § 55, a); 3d sg., *is* 15. 8 etc. (72); with inorganic h, *his* 3. 3; 5. 3; 17. 4; 22. 20; neg., *nis* 18. 14 etc. (19); pl., *arun* 19. 28; *sint* 1. 17 (3); 5. 12; 6. 23; 24. 16; *sindun* 17. 26

etc. (48); -on 13. 56; 15. 14. 20; syndun 12. 48; -on 12. 5; 13. 38; sy(n)dun 13. 39; sendun 2. 18; 22. 14; 23. 27; -on 22. 30; opt. 1. sg., seo 16. 15; 2d sg., sie 4. 6; 5. 25; 6. 18; 18. 9; siæ 4. 3; 18. 8; się 14. 28; sy 26. 63; se 5. 25; 3d sg., sie 5. 13 etc. (14); się 16. 13; 18. 6; siæ 24. 17 etc. (9); syæ 27. 42; siae 10. 13 (2); sy 24. 2. 18; 27. 22; se 18. 6; pl., sie 6. 1. 2. 5. 7. 16; 5. 45; 17. 4; 20. 33; siæ 23. 5; sy 24. 6; sien 24. 24; sięn 7. 1. Rit. has sie, sg. and pl., about 210 times, se about 20 times (cf. Lind., *ibid.*). Ps. has sg., sie, pl., sien (cf. Zeuner, § 56).

β) Root *bheu*:

ind. 1. sg., beom 9. 21; 17. 17; 20. 22; 2d sg., bist 5. 23; 11. 23; 12. 37 (2); 3d sg., bið 16. 4 etc. (72); biþ 16. 3 etc. (27); biþ 12. 25; beoþ 6. 23. 34 (borrowed fr. pl.); pl., beoð 24. 40; 25. 32; -þ 7. 2 etc. (18); bioþ 8. 12 etc. (7); -ð 6. 33; beoþan 4. 19; 5. 11; 12. 36; 18. 18; 19. 30; 25. 41; -ð- 16. 19; biðon 16. 19; opt. 3. sg., beo 6. 9; 18. 17; 20. 26. 27; 23. 11; 26. 42; pl., beon 4. 3; 5. 6. 30; 18. 3; 25. 34; imp. sg., beo 5. 25. 42; pl., beoþ 6. 5. 16 etc. (5); bioþ 10. 16; inf., beon 16. 21 etc. (18). Rit. has ind. pl., biðon, Ps. has bioð.

γ) Root *wes*:

Imp. sg., wæs 2. 13; 5. 25, (s. I., § 15. b); pl., wesap 10. 16; inf., wesa 3. 14; pret. ind. 1. and 3., wæs 14. 24 etc. (126); wæss 2. 18; węs 6. 29; 27. 32; was 26. 1; 2d sg., wære 25. 21. 23; were 26. 69; pl., weron 15. 38 etc. (16); -un 4. 18 etc. (31); wærun (s. I., § 43. b) 11. 20 etc. (6); -on 25. 10; wëron 12. 3; 18. 31; (wer)un 3. 6; opt. sg., wære 26. 24 etc. (13); wëre 8. 17; 13. 35; were 27. 26. pl. with loss of -n, were 11. 23; wære 24. 22; 26. 56. Rit. has inf. wosa, ind., wosað etc. (cf. Lindelöf, § 55).

b) The verb »will« (cf. Siev., § 428):

Pres. ind. 1. sg., wille 15. 32 etc. (9); neg., nyll ic 21. 30, (cf. Siev., § 428, note 1); 2d sg., wilt 8. 2; 19. 17. 21; 26. 39; wiltu 20. 21; 13. 28; uiltu 26. 17; 3d sg., wile (with 1 7) 11. 27; 16. 25; 20. 27; but wille 5. 40; neg., nyle 10. 14; pl., willap 12. 38 etc. (4); -ð 11. 14 etc. (3); neg., nyllep 23. 4; imp. pl., ne wellað (without fusion) 3. 9; nellap 23. 8; opt. sg., wille 5. 42; 15. 28; 16. 24; 17. 4; 20. 26; wile 27. 43; pret. ind. sg., wolde 1. 19; 14. 5; 18. 30; 23. 37; walde 1. 19; 2. 18; 18. 23; 24. 43 (2); neg., nolde 27. 34; pl. waldun 17. 12; neg., naldun 23. 37; noldan 22. 3; opt. pl., walden 27. 15. (s. I. § 34. c).

c) The verb »do« (cf. Siev., § 429):

Pres. ind. 1. sg., do 20. 13; 21. 24; dom 27. 22; ge- 4. 19; dóm 19. 16; 2d sg., doest 21. 23; 3d sg., doeþ 5. 32; 8. 9; 21. 40; 24. 48; dôeþ 5. 45; 18. 35; ind. pl., doð 23. 3; dôþ 23. 15 (2); doap 5. 47 (2); 12. 2; 21. 21; ge- 9. 17; 28. 14; doeþ (faciunt) 5. 46; opt. sg.,

do 19. 18; 20. 32; of- 7. 4; dōa 6. 3; opt. pl., dōa 7. 12; doan 6. 1. 2. 7; imp. sg., do 8. 9; gēpo (for-do?) 7. 5; pl., doð 23. 3 (2); doap 4. 17; 7. 12; dōep 3. 2; 5. 44; inf., doan 20. 15; for- 10. 28; gedoa 9. 28; 16. 25; to doanne 12. 2. 12; pres. part. dōnde 24. 46; doende 15. 36; pret. ind. 1. and 3. sg., dyde 1. 24 etc. (7); ge- 13. 28; 2d sg. dydest 20. 12; ind. pl., dydun 25. 45 etc. (10); -on 11. 20 etc. (7); ge- 21. 13; opt. sg., dyde 23. 23; pl., fordydun 27. 20; past part., gedoan 18. 31; gedōan 23. 15; gedōen 28. 11, (with umlaut). (cf. Lindelöf, p. 102; Zeuner, p. 118).

d) The verb »go«, (cf. Siev., § 430):

Pres. ind. 1. sg., fore-ga 26. 32; 2d sg., gæs 5. 26; gæst 8. 19; 3d sg., gæp 8. 9 etc. (10); forð- 15. 11; in- 15. 11; gæð 15. 18; 26. 24; in- 15. 17; gæp 4. 4; gâep 7. 21; utgâep 12. 43; gað 18. 12; ind. pl., gap 5. 20; 25. 46; oftener gæp 13. 49; 18. 3; 21. 31; ofer- 15. 2. 3; be- 20. 25; gâp 23. 13; gæp 15. 19; opt. sg., gâ 8. 8; pl., gæn 13. 28; ut- 10. 11; in- 10. 11; ingan 7. 13; imp. sg., gâ 9. 5. 6; 8. 4. 9; ga 4. 10 etc. (7); gae 5. 24; pl., gap 7. 13; 10. 6; gâp 20. 7; 22. 9; gâð 10. 14; 21. 2; oftener gæp 2. 8; 10. 5 etc. (10); gâp 9. 13; 11. 4; gaeð 8. 32; infin., gæ 18. 9; innga 19. 17; pret. ind. 1. and 3. sg., eode 13. 46 etc. (40); ut- 8. 34 etc. (5); ofer- 25. 5; eode 8. 5; eade 4. 23; 24. 38; fore- 2. 9; 2d sg., eodest 22. 12; pl., eodun 14. 15 etc. (34); -an 21. 9; -en 11. 7. 8. 9; 25. 1; 26. 50. 55; ut- 27. 32; opt. pl., eoden 26. 55; 11. 7 (?), (s. I. p. 71. b, and § 29).

2. Nouns.

Declension of Nouns.

I. The Strong Declension.

Most nouns of the strong dec. in R' are inflected regularly as in WS. It will be sufficient, therefore, to give such variations from standard WS. (cf. the paradigms in Sievers gram.) as have been noted. While in general R' is rather a translation than a mere gloss, there are not wanting cases in which syntactical relations seem to be ignored.

A. The *o*-Declension.

This dec. embraces masculine and neuter nouns. There are three subdivisions: simple *o*-stems, *jo*-stems, and *wo*-stems (cf. Siev., § 235).

§ 54. Masculine nouns of the *o*-dec.a) Simple *o*-stems (cf. Siev., § 238):α) Singular. *Nom.-acc.* No ending.

Exceptions: *eosula* (acc.) 21. 7, probably weak (cf. § 65), (but *æosul* 21. 2); *gaste* (nom.) 12. 43, (but 3 *gast*, 10. 20 etc.); *casinge* (acc., as if fem.) 17. 24, (but *casing*, same verse).

Gen. Ending *-es*.

In certain words *-as* (*-os*), *-æs* occur, (cf. Siev., § 237, note 1): *heofunas* (gl. to *caelorum*) 18. 3 etc. (19); (*caeli*) 8. 20; 24. 30; 26. 64; *-æs* 11. 25; *heofun* (without ending) 13. 4. 32; 16. 3; *pæs aldor-sacerdas* 26. 3; *-æs* 26. 58; *-os* 26. 51; *-dægas* 28. 1, (but *-es* 12. 8; 20. 12); *cælcæs* 23. 26, (but *-es* 23. 25); *fiscæs* 7. 10. Isolated variations, prob. errors of scribe: *dryhten* (*domini*) 25. 18, (9 forms with *-es*); *gode* (*dei*) 12. 4, (31 *godes*); *dead* (*mortis*) 26. 66; *deade* (for *deaðes*) 4. 16 may be a form of the orig. *u*-dec. (cf. Siev., § 273, and s. *Dat.* below).

Dat.-ins. Ending *-e*.

Rarely *æ* (*ē*) occurs (cf. Siev. § 237, note 2): *domæ* 12. 41. 42; (but 4 *-e*, 5. 21 etc.); *wegæ* 21. 32, (but 11 *-e*, 21. 8 etc.); *tunę* 22. 5, (but *-e* 26. 6. 69); *stanę* 24. 2, (but 6 *-e*, 27. 60 etc.); *templæ* 26. 55, (but 4 *-e*, 24. 1 etc.); *deaða* 15. 4 is an old *dat.* of the *u*-dec. (but 7 forms have *-e*, 14. 2 etc.); *-sceatta* 25. 27 may perhaps be *wk.*; *pæm aldor-sacerdos* (sg.) 26. 57 with *Lat. nom.* Without ending, disregarding syntax: *win-geard minum* 21. 28; of *westem* 12. 33; *bebead wind* 8. 26; *hlaferd minne* (gl. to *domino meo*) 22. 44 is *acc.*, though the construction requires the *dat.* *R'* has to *dæge* 16. 3; 27. 19 etc.; *formæ dæge* 26. 17; but *ðridde dæg* 16. 21 etc.; *ofer dæg* 27. 62; *hwilc dæg* 24. 42; in *forma dæg* 28. 1 etc.

β) Plural. *Nom.-acc.* Ending *-as*.

A few nouns have the weakened ending *-es* (12), *-æs* (4); one or two, the weak *-a*, (cf. Siev., § 237, note 3; Lindelöf, p. 104): *gastes* 12. 45, (but *-as* 8. 16); *hlafe* 4. 3; 14. 17. 19, (but 7 *-as*, 15. 36 etc.); *stanes* 4. 3; 27. 51; *foxes* 8. 20; *peofes* 27. 44; *ðiofes* 6. 19 (but *-as* 21. 13); *earnas* 24. 28; *flodes* 24. 38, (orig. *u*-dec., cf. Siev., § 273); *sacerdes* 12. 5; *principes sacerdotum* is variously glossed: *aldor(-ur)-sacerdas* 21. 23. 45; 27. 6; *-os* 2. 4; 21. 15; *-æs* 26. 14. 59; 27. 1; *-um* 27. 20; *-un* 27. 41; *alduras (-æs) sacerdas* 26. 3; 27. 62.

Minor variations: *riftra* 13. 39; *daga* 12. 40, (perhaps *gen.*, but cf. *preo dagas*, same verse); *discipuli* (after the *Lat.*) 5. 1 (but 3 *-as*, 12. 2 etc.); *ficos* 7. 16 (transfer of *Lat.* word, but cf. *sacerdos* above); *winter*, orig. of the *u*-dec. and *mas.* in *WS.*, has *acc. pl.* *winter* 9. 20.

Gen. Ending -a.

hlaferde 15. 27 has -e for -a; the weak -ana (cf. Siev., § 237. note 4) appears in dagana 24. 29, (but daga 4. 2); without regard to case: gastas unclenra (spiritum immundorum) 10. 1.

Dat. Ending -um.

Often abbreviated in the MS. (28 -um, 85 -um); rarely wanting: aldor sacerð 20. 18, (but 5 -um, 16. 21 etc.); gyrdels eowrum 10. 9.

Note 1. For a in pl. of *dæg* etc. s. I., § 2. b; for syncope in words of more than one syl. s. II., § 3.

Note 2. Mas. proper names follow the o-dec. quite regularly. There are some variations: e. g. *nom. sg.* Ione 12. 40, (but ionas 12. 41); pilatæ 27. 58; -os 27. 13, (but 4 -us, 27. 17 etc.); iosepe (acc.) 1. 16, (but Ioseph, *nom.* 1. 19 etc.); petre (*nom.*) 18. 21; 26. 33 (but 13 petrus); *gen. sg.*, alfees 10. 3; zebedeaes 4. 21; -eas 27. 56; -ees 10. 2; -es 20. 20; (-eo 26. 37 may be an error); nouns in -as unchanged: esaias 13. 14; Ionas 12. 39. 41; Zacharias 23. 35; barachias 23. 35; s is wanting in: herode 14. 6, (but -es 22. 16 etc.); kasere 22. 21, (but -es, same verse); neglecting case, petrus (petri) 8. 14; otherwise -es: abeles 23. 35; dauīðes 9. 27 etc.; *dat. sg.*, iosefae 1. 18; pæm petra 16. 18 (but -e 26. 73 etc.); pylato 27. 2; otherwise regularly -e: criste 22. 42; daniele 24. 15; abrahame 1. 17 etc.; *nom.-acc. pl.*, fariseos 21. 45; 22. 34; -æis 12. 2; -ei 9. 11. 14. 34, (but 16 -as 23. 13 etc., and 3 saduceas 16. 1 etc.); *gen. pl.*, saduceæ 16. 11, (but -a 3. 7; 16. 6; gomorringa 10. 15; sodominga 10. 15; gerasinga 8. 28; farisea 3. 7 etc.); *dat. pl.*, iudeum 28. 15. A few follow the n-dec.: e. g., *nom.* caifas 26. 3; *dat.* caifan 26. 57; *nom.* and *acc.*, barrabas 27. 16. 17; *acc.* -an 27. 20; *gen. pl.*, iudeana 2. 2 etc. (7).

b) *jo*-stems (cf. Siev., §§ 246—8):

α) Singular.

Nom.-acc. The wk. ending -a appears in bokera 8. 19 (but -e 13. 52); se bezera 3. 1, (but 3 -e, 14. 2 etc.); other nouns in -ere are regular; pytt 12. 11 has gemination; orig. long stems have -e as in WS., e. g., hwæte 13. 29; esne 10. 25; ende 24. 13 etc. *Gen.*, s is wanting in: hwæte (tritici) 13. 36, (but -es 13. 25); leornere 10. 42; -as occur in: liceteras (hippochrissi) 23. 28 (mistake for licettunge); otherwise -es, e. g., læces 9. 12 etc. *Dat.-ins.* is regular, e. g., esne 8. 9 etc.

β) Plural.

Nom.-acc. A weak ending -a, -e (see above) appears in: bocera 7. 29; -e 15. 1; in 12. 38 quidam (pl.) de scribis is glossed, *sumne bokere*, as if acc. sg.; -es appears in: bokeres 23. 25, (but 11 -as, 26. 57 etc.); fisceres 4. 19, (-as 4. 18); hiordes 8. 33; in other cases -as.

Gen. bokere 5. 20, (but -a 9. 3; esna 25. 19). *Dat.* -um (6); abbrev., -um (5). In 8. 21 de discipulis is glossed, of leornere; to with acc. appears in 9. 37, to leorneras.

c) *wo*-stems (cf. Siev., §§ 249, 250):

α) Singular.

Nom.-acc. Besides snau 17. 2; 28. 3, only compounds of *ðeow* occur: lareuw 19. 16 etc. (17 forms, 10 in -u, 7 in -uw; s. I., § 22 b); latteuw 2. 6; efn-þeuw 18. 29. *Gen.* -bearwes 21. 1 etc. (3). *Dat.-ins.* Ending wanting: æfn-ðeuw þinum 18. 33; ðeow minum 8. 9.

β) Plural.

Nom.-acc. Ending wanting or weak (cf. Siev., § 250 note 3): efnþeu (conseruos) 24. 49; efn-þeuwe (conserui) 18. 31; lateuw (duces) 15. 14, (but latewas 23. 16; latuwas 23. 24; larewas 23. 8). *Gen.* æfn-þara (for þeowa?) 18. 28.

§ 55. Neuter nouns of the *o*-dec.

a) Simple *o*-stems, (cf. Siev., as above, for all cases).

α) Singular. *Nom.-acc.* No ending.

The only exception noted is geate 7. 14 (should be nom.); in the phrase, þurh naarwe geate 7. 13, geate must be taken as fem., if acc. Gemination is the rule: godspell, bispell (s. II. § 11); even unjustifiable gem.: fæss, geatt, (s. II., §§ 17. 20).

Gen. Ending -es.

These have -æs (-es): husęs 15. 24, (but -es 10. 6); hriþęs 9. 38, -es 13. 30); folcæs 21. 23, (6 -es, 26. 47 etc.); rehtæs 25. 19; -ryhtæs 23. 28, (gerihtes 18. 23. 24); gæflæs 9. 9. Without ending, hrægl his 9. 20, (hrægles his 14. 36); heafod 10. 30.

Dat.-ins. Ending -e.

A few (11) have -æ (*e*, *ae*): folcę 27. 24 (8 -e, 9. 35 etc.); hræglę 6. 28, (-e 9. 16; 22. 11); gebedæ 21. 22; carcærænnæ 25. 44, (carcerne 14. 10); husae 5. 15, (11 -e, 8. 14 etc.); londæ 24. 18, (7 -e, 19. 1 etc.); midlæ 18. 2, (4 -e, 18. 20 etc.); weorcæ 16. 27; ripae 9. 38, (ripe 13. 30); yflæ 5. 37. 39, (2 -e 6. 13; 21. 41). Ending wanting after prep.: to blod 23. 35; of goldhord 13. 52; butan ondget 15. 16; to weofud 5. 23, (to wibede 5. 23); in wuldor 16. 27, (in wuldre 6. 29 etc.); other cases: þæm mægden 14. 11; inwit (dolo) 26. 4 (= 'by means of'); wif 14. 3 (in appos. with dat., but gl. to Lat. acc.; the Lat. prevails).

β) Plural. *Nom.-acc.* Long stems of one syl. have no ending, short stems have -u, -o.

R' has -u in short stems: e. g., *fasu* 23. 5; *fatu* 12. 29 etc. *gewritu* 22. 29; 26. 54; *gewriotu* 26. 56 etc.; rarely -a, -e: *sele-scota* 8. 20, (-u 17. 4); *getala* 14. 21, (-u 24. 30); *hole* 8. 20, (cf. *Siev.*, § 242, note 3, *Ger. ed.*). Ending wanting in: *pa ceaf* 3. 12. Words of more than one syl., except *tintergu* 25. 46, are without ending, (cf. *Siev.*, § 243. 1): e. g., *mægen* 13. 58 etc. (7), (*WS.* has *mægenu*, cf. *Cosijn*, II., p. 11. b); *tacen* 16. 3 etc; *ticcen* 25. 33; *ciken* 23. 37; *deoful* 7. 22; 12. 27. 28 is neut. as in *WS.*, (cf. n. p. *deofla*, *Cosijn*, II. p. 7; *Lindis.* has *dioules*, *diowles*).

Note. *Setl*, neut. in *WS.* (cf., *Cosijn*, II., p. 10. bot.), is mas. in R' (and *Lindis.*): *settlas* (acc.) 21. 12; *setulas* 23. 6, (cf. *Lindis.*, same verse).

Gen. Ending -a.

For -a appears -e, -æ in: *weode* 13. 36; *para mynetræ* 21. 12. The wk. ending only in: *leoman* (= -ana) 5. 30, (but *lioma* 5. 29), *Lindis.* has *liomana* in both cases.

Dat. Ending -um.

Often abbrev. (9 -um, 32 -um), e. g. *wærcu(m)* 23. 3 etc. In 5. 19 *de mandatis istis* is glossed: of ðisse beboda; *Lindis.* has of *bobodum ðissum*.

b) *jo*-stems: α) Singular.

Nom.-acc. Regular, but gemination is preserved in orig. short stems: *cynn* 24. 30 etc. (6); *nett* 4. 21 etc. (4); *bedd* 9. 6, (cf. *Siev.*, § 231). *Gen.* Only excep. noted: *edæs* (= *êowdes*) 26. 31; neglecting case: *rice þeos* (f. ?) 8. 12 (gl. to *regni hujus*); also *rice* (*regni*) 13. 11, (but 5 *rices*, 16. 19 etc.). *Dat.-ins.* -e wanting in: *nett asendun* (= um) 13. 47; otherwise regular: e. g. *rice* 8. 11 etc.

β) Plural.

Nom.-acc. Short stems are wanting; long stems have -u (-a, -e): *getimbru* 24. 1; *mæru* 15. 39; *gemæru* 24. 31; *lendu* 3. 4, (*Corp. MS.* has *lendenu*); with -e: *geryne* 13. 11; *rice* (*regna*) 4. 8; with -a: *þwænga* 23. 5. The form *peostre* 6. 23; 10. 27; *piostre* 4. 16; 8. 12; ð- 22. 13, may be sing, cf. *þæt peostre bip* 6. 23; but *peostru sint* 6. 23; and with -a (prob. pl.): *peostra* 25. 30; *geþriostra* 27. 45. *Gen.* No examp. *Dat.* -um (3); *gemæru(m)* 15. 22.

c) *wo*-stems. α) Singular.

Nom.-acc., *kneu* 27. 29; *treow* 7. 17 etc. (11); *treuw* 12. 33; *streu* 7. 3. 4. 5. *Gen.*, *melwæs* 13. 33; *treowes* 3. 10; *win-* 21. 34; *wintreos* 26. 29, (with loss of *w*). *Dat.-ins.* from *treo* 24. 32.

β) Plural.

Acc. *cneu* 17. 14; *Gen.* No examp. *Dat.* *treowum* 21. 8.

B. The *ā*-Declension.

Nouns of this class are feminine. There are simple *ā*-stems, *jā*-stems, and *wā*-stems (cf. Siev., § 251).

§ 56. Simple *ā*-stems (cf. Siev., §§ 252—255).

a) Singular. *Nom.-voc.* Long stems have no ending, short stems, *-u*.

The *-e* of the obl. cases appears in: *endunge* 13. 39; 24. 14; *gemunge* 22. 8, (*gemung* 22. 10). *cæstra* (*ciuitas*) 5. 14. 35; 8. 34; *-e* 12. 25; 21. 10 is plainly due to the clas. Lat. form; *saul* 26. 38 has syncope as in obl. cas. Other nouns are regular: *e. g.*, *hwil* 14. 15 etc.; *lufu* 24. 12; *geofu* 23. 19 etc.

Acc. Ending *-e*.

A few nouns (11) have *-æ* (*e*, *ae*) (cf. Siev. § 252, note 1.): *ael-dinge* 24. 48; *constungæ* (for *cost-*) 6. 13; *geþæhtunge* 26. 4; *-æ* 22. 15, (*-e* 12. 14); *arkę* 24. 38; & *ustrungæ* (*abominationem*) 24. 15; in *pas sunrae* 8. 31; *cæstræ* 8. 33; 27. 53; *caestrae* 4. 13 (2), (*but 7 cæstre*, 10. 23 etc.). Minor variations: *ða geofu* 23. 19 is prob. due to *geofu* (*nom.*), same verse; *stemn* (*vocem*) 12. 19 may be *m.*, *n.* or mere gloss, neglecting case, (*Lindis has stefn*).

Gen. Ending *-e*.

gearwunga 27. 62 has *-a* (cf. Siev. § 255. 1); in other cases *-e* appears: *ge-endunge* 24. 3; *nedle* 19. 24 etc. No case of *-es*, (cf. Siev., § 252, note 2; *Lindelöf*, p. 108).

Dat. Ending *-e*.

Rarely *-æ* occurs, once each, *-a*, *-i*: *stæfnæ* 27. 46, (*-e* 24. 31; 27. 50); *ge-mungæ* 25. 10; *þæ(m) gemungæ* 22. 4, (*m.*, *n.*, if the abbrev. is properly expanded); cf. also *þæ(m) gemunge* 22. 3. 9; *ceastræ* 21. 17, (*but 2 ceastre*, 5 *cæstre*, 10. 15 etc.); *ceapunga* 22. 5; *andsuari* 2. 12, (cf. Siev., § 252, n. 1); variation of *gend.* is seen in: on *þæ(m) halfe* 25. 41; on *þa halfe* 22. 44. Taken with the *nom.* and *acc.* above, *þære geofu* 23. 18, shows *geofu* invariable in the *sg.*

b) Plural. *Nom.-acc.* Ending *-a* (*-e*).

Variations: *cæstras* 9. 35 takes *mas.* ending, (*but -a* 10. 5; *-e* 10. 23); *hælettungæ* 23. 7; neglecting case: *blęd* 7. 17. 18. Except *węda* 28. 3; and *culfra* 10. 16 (perhaps *wk.*), other nouns have *-e*: *e. g.*, *peode* 12. 21; *hlafe* (= *lafe*) 14. 20; *stale* 15. 19; *efalsunge* 26. 65 etc.

Gen. Ending *-a*.

-e occurs in *ðeode* 10. 5, (*but -a* 4. 15; 20. 25). No *examp.* of *wk.* ending.

Dat. Ending *-um*.

R' has 19 *-um*, 2 *-u(m)*; under *feþran* 23. 37 (*-an* for *-um*? or is it acc. pl. wk.?).

§ 57. *ja*-stems (cf. Siev., §§ 256—8).

a) Singular.

Nom.-voc. No ending (few exceptions in WS., cf. Siev., § 258. 1). The *-e* of obl. cases appears in: *ðrycnisse* 24. 21; *smyltnisse* 8. 26; *soþfæstnisse* 5. 20; *-hroernisse* 24. 7; *kennisse* 1. 18, (but 9 forms have *-nis*, *-nes*, *gelicnis* 22. 20 etc.); *cneorisse* 12. 39; 24. 34, (cf. Siev., § 258. note 4); *synne* 12. 31, (Lindis. has *synnæ* alt. to *synn*); *henne* 23. 37, (Lindis., same); *axe* 3. 10, (Lindis. *acas*); *peowæ* 26. 69, has *-u*, *-e* in WS. (cf. Siev., § 258. note 2); gemination is preserved in: *sibb* 10. 12. 13. *Acc.* Variations: *cneorisse* 23. 36, (4 *-e*, 12. 41 etc.); (and) *spurnisse* 13. 57, (*-e* 13. 21; 26. 31); *breuwnisse* 11. 20 (5 *-e*, 12. 41 etc.); other nouns *-nisse* (41); neglecting case *sibb* (*pacem*) 10. 34; otherwise regularly *-e*. Gemination simplified in: *nyte* 7. 16, (but *helle* 5. 30 etc.; *byrgenne* 27. 64 etc.). *Gen.* *helles* 23. 15 shows the m.-n. ending (cf. Siev., § 252. note 2), (but *helle* 5. 22; 16. 18; 23. 33); *unsyfernisse* 23. 27 with *ę*; other forms *-nisse* (12); *byrgenne* 27. 60. *Dat.* Regular. *-e* throughout: *helle* 10. 28 etc.; about 30 forms in *-nisse*.

b) Plural.

Nom.-acc. R' has *-e*, rarely *-a*, *-ae*: e. g., *byrgenne* 27. 52; *adle* 24. 7; *cyðnisse* 27. 13 etc.; but *synna* 6. 14; *-ae* 9. 2, (5 *synne* 9. 5 etc.). *Gen.* *-e* for *-a*: *gewitnesse* (*testium*) 18. 16; *synne* (*peccatorum*) 26. 28 are the only forms noted. *Dat.* 15 *-um*, 3 *-u(m)*: e. g. *synnum* 1. 21 etc.

§ 58. *wa*-stems (cf. Siev., §§ 259, 260).

a) Sing. *Nom.* *stowe* *peos* (cf. § 57 a) 14. 15, (but *-stouw* 27. 33). *Acc.* *stowe* 12. 43 etc. (14). *Gen.* *stowe* 14. 35. *Dat.* *stowe* 24. 15; 26. 52; *-æ* 27. 33; *scada* 4. 16, (cf. Siev., § 260. note 2). b) Pl. *Acc.* *stowa* 24. 7.

Note. Fem. proper names follow the *d*-dec. or take a Lat. termination, but often retain the Lat. nom. (when *-a*) unchanged in obl. cases, (such forms might be considered wk. with loss of *n*, common in R'): e. g., *Acc.* *syria* 4. 24; *galilea* 26. 32 etc.; *bethaniæ* 21. 17; but *hierusalem* 5. 35 etc.; *ægypti* (Lat. *-um*) 2. 13. 14. *Gen.* *sidone* 15. 21; *tyre* 15. 21 (Lindis., *tyres*); *herodiade* 14. 6; *cessarię* (Lat. *ae*) 16. 13; but *maria* 1. 16; *iudea* 3. 1; *galilea* 21. 11 etc. *Dat.* *sidone* 11. 21. 22; *iordane* 3. 5. 13 etc.; *herodiadi* (Lat. *-em*) 14. 3; *bethsaidæ* 11. 21; but *bethania* 26. 6; *maria* 1. 20; *iudea* 4. 25

etc.; galilea 3. 13 etc.; arimaðia 27. 57; chorazam 11. 21; hiericho 20. 29; tyro 11. 21; ægypto 2. 15. 19; hierosolimis 15. 1 etc.

C. The *i*-Declension.

Most nouns of this class are mas. or fem., a few are neuter (cf. Siev., § 261).

§ 59. Masculine nouns of the *i*-dec. (cf. Siev., §§ 262—6).

a) Singular. *Nom.-acc.* Short stems end in *-e*, long stems in a cons.

R' has: cyme 24. 27. 37. 39; hryre 7. 27; mete 3. 4; 14. 15 etc. (5); stede 27. 33; hete 22. 18; dile 23. 23; oele 25. 3. 4; slite (nom.) 9. 16 seems to belong here, (Corp. MS. has *se slite*). Long stems: cirm 25. 6; dæl 24. 51 etc.; drync 10. 42; sel 26. 16; ymb-hwyrft 24. 14. The *-e* of short stems is often lost in North., (cf. Siev., § 263. note 5; Lindelöf, § 57. 1), but not in R'.

Gen. Ending *-es*:

cymes 24. 3; oeles 25. 8; dæles 12. 42.

Dat.-ins. Ending *-e*:

mete 10. 10 etc.; -gyte 23. 30; styde 21. 19. 20; 27. 48; dæle 16. 13 etc.

b) Plural. *Nom.-acc.* In WS. short stems have *-e*, oftener *-as* from the *o*-dec. (cf. Siev., § 263, note 2); long stems with few exceptions, *-as*, (cf. Siev., §§ 264—5).

R' has: *steppan* 5. 41, weak, (WS. *stæpas*, cf. Cosijn, II., p. 34); *beligas* 9. 17; *dæles* 27. 51; but *dæle* (*partes*) 2. 22.

Gen. Ending *-a*:

metta 26. 17 as if *jo*-stem, (cf. Siev., § 263. n. 3).

Dat. Ending *-um*:

-bendum 11. 2; stængum 26. 47. 55.

Note. *sæ* is mas. in R' so far as gender is indicated. The forms are: *nom.* *sæ* 8. 27; *gen.* *seæs* 18. 6; *saes* 4. 15; *dat.* *pæ(m) sæ* 8. 24; to *sæ* 17. 27; bi *sæ* 13. 1; on *middu(m) sæ* 14. 24; bi *sæ* 4. 18; 15. 29; *sæ* 8. 26; *acc.* *sæ* 16. 5; 21. 21; *sæ* 23. 15; *sæ* 8. 18. 28. 32; *sæ* 4. 18; 13. 47; *sæ* 14. 22; *pone sæ* 14. 26; *pone sæ* 9. 1; *pone sæ* 14. 25. *sæ* 4. 13 is first part of comp.

§ 60. Neuter nouns of the *i*-dec. (cf. Siev., § 267). A few nouns originally of other declensions are so classed by Sievers. R' has:

gehæld (acc. s.) 27. 65, (cf. Siev., § 288. note 1); *fullwiht* (nom.

s.) 21. 25 (orig. fem., cf. Siev., § 267. b); fulluihte (dat. s.) 3. 7; this word and geþyld (acc. s.) 18. 26. 29 are undetermined in gender in R'; other nouns of this group show fem. forms, (s. § 61). Here may be placed (cf. Cosijn, II., § 23), -ryft (nom. s.) 27. 51; hryft (acc. s.) 5. 40; reade ryfte (ins.? or acc. f., â-dec.?) 27. 28; cf. ðy ryhte (= ryfte), (ins.) 27. 31.

§ 61. Feminine nouns of the *i*-dec. (cf. Siev., §§ 268—9). R' has only long stems.

a) Singular. *Nom.* No ending :

cwaen 12. 42; mæht 28. 18; ned 18. 7; tid (gend. undeter.) 14. 15; 26. 18; but þæt tid 21. 34, (s. below, dat. and pl.); the comp. nawiht 18. 32 etc. (cf. Siev., § 267, note 3); ðeos forwyrd 26. 8, (cf. Cosijn, II., § 23); onseone 28. 3 (wk.? cf. Siev., § 269. note 4); æriste 22. 23.

Acc. No ending in WS.

In R' these nouns often take the *-e* of the *ā*-dec.: æfeste 27. 18, (Lindis. has æfista alt. to æfist); mæhte 9. 6. 8; 20. 25; -ae 10. 1, (but mæht 7. 29; 21. 23); scylde 18. 25. 32. 34, (but scyld 18. 27. 30); tide 20. 12, (but 9 tid, 12. 1 etc.); without ending: gemynd 26. 13; owiht 24. 17 etc.

Gen. Ending *-e*:

gebyrde 14. 6; weorulde 13. 22. 39. 40; 24. 3; 28. 20; but *-es* (cf. Siev., § 269. note 5) 13. 49; 24. 14.

Dat.-ins. Ending *-e*:

æriste 22. 28 etc. (3); -æ 27. 53, (gender undetermined in R'); mæhti 8. 9 (cf. Siev., § 252, note 1); but, in hwilcæ (-e) mæhte (acc.?) 21. 23. 27; in wilce mæh(t)e 21. 24; weorlde 12. 32; forwyrd 7. 13; tide 8. 13 etc. (9); but, without ending, þære tid 20. 3; 27. 45. 46.

b) Plural. *Nom.-acc.* Ending *-e*:

æhte 19. 22; gemynde 23. 29; scylde 6. 12; -æ 6. 14; tide 16. 3. *Dat.* tidum 21. 41.

Note. æ (law) is indecl.: *Nom.* ae 22. 40; æ 7. 12; 11. 13; *acc.* ae 5. 17; *gen.* æ 23. 23; *dat.* ae 5. 18; 22. 36; æ 12. 5, (cf. Siev., § 269. n. 3).

D. The *u*-Declension.

There are a few mas. and fem. nouns of this dec. in WS. and but a single neuter (cf. Siev. §§ 270—5).

§ 62. Mas. nouns of the *u*-dec. Most nouns, originally of this dec., have gone over to the *o*-dec.

R' has:

deað, flod, frið, ferh, hunger, had, seap, sumer, winter, (s. § 54). The only form among these clearly of the *u*-dec. is *deaða* (dat. s.) 15. 4, (cf. Siev., § 273, note 1). *sunu* alone preserves the old infl. pretty well, but has *-e*, *-æ*, *-u*, (1 *-a*) in obl. cases: a) Singular. *Nom.-voc.*, *sunu* 26. 2 etc. (43); *-e* 17. 12 etc. (11). *Acc.*, *sunu* 23. 15, etc. (16). *Gen.*, *sunę* 24. 39; *-e* 1. 1; 24. 30. 37; *-u* 1. 1; 23. 35; 28. 19. *Dat.*, *minum sunæ* 2. 15; *sunu* 22. 2; (on, wiþ) *sunu* 21. 5; 12. 32 may be acc. b) Plural. *Nom.*, *sunu* 10. 21; *-æ* 20. 21. *Acc.*, *sunu* 18. 25; 20. 20; but with *-as* (*-es*) from the *o*-dec., *sunas* 26. 37; *-es* 21. 28. *Gen.* weak, *sunena* 27. 56; but *sunu* 20. 20.

§ 63. Fem. nouns of the *u*-dec. (cf. Siev., § 274).

R' has the following:

a) Singular. *Nom.*, *hond* 5. 30; *se hōnd* 6. 3; *se dure* 25. 10, (these mas. ? or *se* for *seo*, cf. *sio* 6. 3); *cwern* 18. 6. *Acc.*, *-flor* 3. 12, (cf. Siev., § 274. n. 1); *hond* 9. 18 etc. (6); but *honde* 26. 23; *-æ* 12. 13; *-a* 12. 13, (with ending from *d*-dec., or weak); *dure* 6. 6. *Dat.*, *honda* 3. 12; but *dure* 26. 71; 27. 60; *cweorne* 24. 41. b) Plural. *Nom.*, *honde* 18. 8; *duru* 16. 18. *Acc.* *honda* 8. 15; 22. 13 etc. (12); *mid honde* 26. 67. *Dat.* *hondum* 10. 10; 15. 20; *-u(m)* 4. 6; 26. 67; *durum* 24. 33.

§ 64. The only neut. is *feola* 27. 19 etc. (6), (cf. Siev. § 275).

For *feh. feoh, dat. feo*, s. I. § 21. a.

II. The Weak Declension.

Most nouns of this dec. are mas. or fem., very few neuter (cf. Siev., §§ 276—280).

§ 65. Mas. nouns of the weak dec. (cf. Siev., § 277). Final *-n* of this dec. is usually lost in R', regularly in North. (cf. Siev., § 276, note 2).

a) Singular. *Nom.* Ending *-a*.

Variations: *-a* weakened to *-e*, *-æ*: *doeme* 5. 25; *intinge* 19. 10; *ge-roefe* 10. 3; *-æ* 27. 15, (but *-a* 27. 11. 14. 21. 23). *-an* from the obl. cases appears in: *lichoman* 26. 26 (but 6 *-a*, 5. 30 etc.); *cuman* 25. 43, (*-a* 25. 35); *willan* 18. 14; but *-æ* 26. 42, (*-a* 6. 10); other forms regular: *noma* 27. 32 etc.

Acc. Ending *-an*.

-n is lost (and vowel often modified) in: *andwlitu* 18. 10; *ond-*

wliotu 16. 3; 17. 6; 26. 67; witgu 4. 14 etc. (13); witga 21. 26; wihtga 21. 46, (-an 12. 17; 27. 9); ewyrdlu (detrimentum) 16. 26; wyrtryma 13. 21; wy(r)tryme 13. 6; wille 7. 21, (-an 12. 50; 21. 31); steorra 2. 2, (-an 2. 10); stæna fullę 26. 7 (seems to be fem.); olbend (st.) 19. 24; but with -u 23. 24; noma 1. 21. 23. 25, (perhaps neglecting case); loma 9. 2; lichoma 10. 28; 14. 12; leafa 9. 2; ge- 8. 10; 17. 20; -u 23. 23; 21. 21; intinge 27. 37; hlisa 14. 1; fola 21. 7, (-an 21. 2); gefea 25. 21. 23; bryd-guma 25. 1; teane 20. 13. These have -an: scetan 27. 59; cuman 25. 38. 44; cofan 6. 6.

Gen. Ending -an.

n is lost except once: geroefe 27. 27; steorra 2. 7; witgu 10. 41 (2); lamwyrhtæ 27. 10; -e 27. 7; lichoma 6. 22; geleafa 8. 26; 16. 8; -e 6. 30, (gelefan 14. 31); brydguma 9. 15.

Dat.-ins. Ending -an.

n is lost in: ægsa 14. 26; 28. 4; egas 28. 8; ældra 21. 28; bearma 16. 6 etc. (4); doeme 5. 25; dwale 6. 24 (gedwolan 24. 24); gefea 13. 20 etc. (4); heage 21. 33, (cf. Lindis., Mark 12. 1); geroefe 28. 14; -æ 27. 2; -a 20. 8; gehrôefa 27. 11; -geleafa 13. 58; 17. 20, (-an 9. 29); loma 9. 2 (-an 9. 6); lichoma 6. 25; intinge 19. 3; -a 5. 32; mytte 5. 15; noma 7. 22 etc. (6), (but 10 -an, 7. 22 etc.); scape 26. 55; scua 4. 16; swira 18. 6; wihtga 24. 15; andwliota 11. 10; -u 26. 39. 67; wyrtruma 3. 10; -eke 25. 20; (-an 15. 38). A few have -an: folan 21. 5; fruman 19. 4 etc. (3); gallan 27. 34; willan 24. 13; tosagan 1. rub.

b) Plural. *Nom.-acc. Ending -an.*

n is lost in: scape 27. 38; -hrôefe 9. 10; ge- 5. 46; noma 10. 2; myrðra 22. 7; hlisu 24. 6; græs-hoppa 3. 4; cempa 8. 9; kēmpa 27. 27; doeme 12. 27; begengu 21. 35. 38; higu 10. 36; hiwæ 10. 25; (hiwen 10. 36); hine 10. 25. 36, (wk. ?); ældre 27. 1; -u 26. 57; eldre 21. 23; ældra 26. 3, (ældran 27. 20; eldran 27. 3); nedniomu 11. 12; wyrhte 9. 38; -a 20. 1; -u 9. 37; andwliotu 6. 16; andwlitu 6. 17; gewitu 26. 60 (2); witga 5. 17 etc. (4); -u 11. 13 etc. (5), (-an 23. 31. 34); spearwas 10. 29. 31 has the st. ending -as.

These have -an: foêran 23. 30; loman 4. 24; lytlingan 19. 14; telgran 21. 8; steorran 24. 29; pearfan 26. 11.

Gen. Ending -ena.

R' has also -ana (cf. Siev., § 276, n. 1): witgana 16. 14 etc. (4); (-ena 5. 12); worþana 6. 5; but scaþena 21. 13; geroefena 11. 19; olbendena 3. 4; weolan 13. 22 lacks -a; ældra 15. 2 has the -a of the *o*-dec.; hina 13. 52; 20. 1. 11, (cf. Siev., § 277, n. 1).

Dat. Ending -um.

Weakened to *-an* in: *ældran* 26. 47; *eldran* 27. 12, (but 3 *-um* 16. 21 etc.). In other cases *-um* (13), *-u(m)*, (4).

Note. *eawis firina* (*publicanus*) 18. 17; (nom. pl.) *ewis-firinæ* 21. 32; *æwisfirine* 21. 31 seems to be a weak noun. *Lindis.* has *bærsynnig*; the other texts, *mânfull*.

§ 66. Fem. nouns of the weak dec. (cf. *Siev.* §§ 278—9). *-n* is usually wanting as above; vowel often *-e*.

a) Sing.

Nom.-voc. Ending *-e*. The borrowed *-u* of indecl. abstract nouns (cf. *Siev.*, § 279) appears in: *eorðu* 2. 6; 4. 15, (but 4 *-e*, 5. 18 etc.); *-a* in: *eorta* 6. 21, (*-e* 13. 15); *mohpa* 6. 19. 20; without the usual *-esse* (as if a *jâ-stem*), *ælmes* 6. 4. Others have *-e*: *sunne* 13. 6 etc. (4); *fæmne* 1. 23. *Acc.* *ælmesse* 6. 3; *-isse* 6. 2 (following the dec. of *jâ-stems*); *n* lost: *ceke* 5. 39; *circae* 16. 18; *eorðu* 5. 5; 2. 21; *eordu* 23. 15; *eorðe* 13. 5. 8. 23; *-æ* 5. 35; *flega* 23. 24; *nedra* 7. 10; *sunne* 5. 45; *spyng*e 27. 48; *mintæ* 23. 23; *murra* 2. 11; *tonica* 5. 40, (*tunican* 24. 18); *beman* 6. 2 has *-an*. *Gen.*, *eorðu* 5. 13 etc. (3); *-e* 11. 25 etc. (4); *teoma* 21. 5; *heorta* 12. 34. 35 (2), (*-an* 19. 8; 5. 8 dat.?). *Dat.-ins.*, *eorðe* 10. 15 etc. (10); *-u* 2. 20; (8 *-an*, 10. 29 etc.); *heorte* 5. 28 etc. (7); *-a* 15. 19; (*-an* 22. 37); *-an* have: *circan* 18. 17 (2); *beman* 24. 31; *ascan* 11. 21.

b) Plural.

Nom.-acc. Without *n*: *nedra* 10. 16; 23. 33; *eastra* 26. 17. 18, (*-an* 26. 2. 19); *lilia* 6. 28 (prob. fr. Lat. text) *ðecele* 25. 1, (cf. *Ett.*, p. 581); *sperta* 15. 37; 16. 10, (cf. *Toll.-Bos.*, *spyrt*e); *tunica* 10. 10. With *-an*; *culfran* 21. 12; *exlan* 23. 4; *femnan* 25. 1. 7. 11; *-en*: *kægen* 16. 19. *Gen.* only *ana*: *nedrana* 3. 7; 12. 34; *widuwana* 23. 14; *uiperana* 23. 33 (with Eng. in place of Lat. ending). *Dat.* *heortum* 9. 4; *eortum* 18. 35.

Note. Indeclinable except in dat. pl. (cf. *Siev.*, § 279): *mengu* (nom.-acc.) 15. 39 etc. (25); *mængu* 21. 26 etc. (5); *menigu* 9. 8 etc. (5); *mænigu* 21. 36; to *mengu* 17. 14; to *þæ(m)* *menigu* (*turbas*) 11. 7; *þæ(m)* *mengu* (as if neut.) 15. 35 (*Lindis.* has *ðæm menigo*); *mengum* (dat. p.) 42. 46; *mængum* 13. 34 etc. Other nouns of this class are: *hætu* (acc.) 20. 12; to *lengo* 6. 27; *beldu* (acc.) 14. 27; *hælo* (dat.) 12. 13; *snytru* (nom.) 11. 19; *snyttro* (acc.) 12. 42.

§ 67. Neuter nouns of the weak dec. (cf. *Siev.*, § 280).

R' has these forms:—

a) Singular. *Nom.*, *ege* 5. 38 etc. (5); *êge* 5. 29. With *-an* from the obl. cases: *eagan* 18. 9; *egan* 20. 15. *Acc.*, *ege* 18. 9; *eare* 10. 27; *eara* 26. 51 (as if m. or f. with loss of *n*); *wonge* 5. 39 (cf. *Siev.*, § 280, note 1). *Dat.*, *n* lost, *ege* 7. 3. 4. 5. (6); 5. 38. b) Plural.

Nom.-acc. Most forms have *-an*: eagan 18. 9; eagan 9. 29. 30; 17. 8; egna (for-an) 20. 33; eagan (with *-un*) 26. 43; but *egu* 13. 15; *ege* 13. 16; earan 11. 15; 13. 16. 43; *eara* 13. 9. *Dat.* egum 13. 15 etc. (3); earu(m) 13. 15; earan (= um) 13. 15.

III. Minor Declensions.

§ 68. Isolated consonant stems (cf. Siev., §§ 281—4).

R' has only a few masculines and feminines.

a) Mas. nouns (cf. Siev., § 281. 1):

α) Singular. *Nom.-acc.* monn 12. 12 etc. (29); mon 9. 16 etc. (4); (aldur-) 9. 18; (nænig-) 9. 30; an acc. *monnu* occurs, 9. 9. 32; 10. 35; 11. 8; 15. 11 (2); 22. 11, as in North. (cf. Siev., § 281, note 1); toð 5. 38. *Gen.*, monnes 9. 6 etc. (33); *-æs* 10. 23. *Dat.*, menn 26. 24 etc. (9); men 26. 18; neglecting case: monn (homini) 20. 1; 22. 2; for tōp 5. 38, (Hatton has same; Lindis. fore toðe; Corp. for teð). β) Plural. *Nom.-acc.*, menn 5. 19 etc. (12); (aldor-) 20. 25; monna 15. 38, (cf. Siev. *ibid.*); foet 18. 8 etc. (4). *Gen.* monna 16. 23 etc. (8); fota 5. 35; 22. 44; toða 24. 51 etc. (6). *Dat.* monnum 23. 13 etc. (23); -u(m) 19. 12 etc. (7); fotum 7. 6 etc. (4).

b) Fem. nouns (cf. Siev., §§ 282—4). R' has only long stems:

α) Singular. *Acc. (nom. wanting)*, boc 28. 20; *boec* (libellum) 5. 31; *bōec* (librum) 19. 7 (perhaps pl. for sg., cf. *boēc* 1. 1); burg 22. 7; burh 10. 11. *Gen.* næhtes (cf. Siev., § 284, note 4, end) 14. 25. *Dat.* (æt) niht 25. 6; (on) 2. 14; (on) næht 28. 13; (to pisse) niht 26. 34; næhte 26. 31, (cf. Siev., *ibid.*). β) Plural. *Nom.-acc.*, niht 12. 40; neht 12. 40; eae 7. 27; eâe 7. 25, follows *â*-dec. (cf. Siev., *ibid.*); burgas 9. 35 with ending of *o*-dec. (Lindis. has same; Hatt. and Corp., burga). *Gen.*, næhta 4. 2.

§ 69. Stems in *-r* (cf. Siev., § 285).

a) Mas. Nouns:

α) Singular. *Nom.-acc.*, fæder 25. 41 etc. (41); broþer 17. 1 etc. (13); b(r)oper 5. 23. *Gen.*, fæder 10. 20 etc. (9); fader 13. 43; (*-es* in: fæderes 21. 31); broþer 7. 3. 5; 14. 3. *Dat.*, fæder 5. 16 etc. (11); (dat. or acc.) 4. 21; 10. 29. 35; 13. 27; 15. 5; 20. 1; broþer 5. 22 etc. (5). β) Plural. *Nom.-acc.*, broþer 12. 46 etc. (7); ge- 4. 18. 21; broþre 22. 25; 25. 40; ge- 23. 8; bloþræ 1. 2; *broeþre* (with umlaut) 1. 11. *Gen.* fædera 23. 32; fædra 23. 30. *Dat.* broþrum 28. 10; -u(m) 20. 24.

b) Fem. nouns:

α) Singular. *Nom.-acc.*, moder 12. 50 etc. (22); dohter 10. 35 etc.

(6); dogter 15. 22; swuster 12. 50. *Gen.* moder 19. 12. *Dat.* moder 14. 8. 11; 15. 5; 2. 11 (acc. ?); dohter 21. 5. β) Plural. *Nom.-acc.*, swæster 13. 56; swust(er) 19. 29.

Note. Only *-er* occurs in the above forms (cf. Siev., § 285. note 1).

§ 70. Stems in *-nd* (cf. Siev., § 286). *R'* has:

α) Singular. *Nom.-acc.*, hælend 20. 30 etc. (about 106); helend 14. 27 etc. (8); hēlend 12. 1; abbrev. hæl(end) 17. 18 etc. (28); once, hælende (iesus) 16. 20; freond 20. 13 etc. (4); fiond 5. 43; 13. 39; feond 13. 25; sawend 13. 3. *Gen.* hælendes 1. 1; 27. 58. 59; abbr. hæl(endes) 26. 75; pæs hælend 27. 57. *Dat.* helende 14. 29; without ending: pæ(m) hælend 26. 71; 27. 1; to hælend 18. 1; 17. 4; 26. 17; (prob. dat.) 8. 29; in other cases (4) abbrev., 26. 49 etc. β) Plural. *Nom.-acc.* Only with *-as* from the *o*-dec.: feondas 22. 44; fiondas 5. 44; 10. 36. *Gen.* sukendra 21. 16. *Dat.* freondum 10. 21; ehtendum 5. 44; foëdendum 24. 19.

§ 71. Stems in *-os*, *-es* (cf. Siev., §§ 288—290). The only forms in *R'* showing any trace of this dec. are: -

æchir (acc. pl.) 12. 1 (WS. *êar*); sigor (dat.-ins.) 12. 20 (cf. Siev., § 289 and note 1). *cild* has nom.-acc. pl., cild 19. 13. 14; gen. cildra 21. 16. Other words in *R'* originally belonging here are: hrife 1. 23 etc.; gehæld 27. 65; scip 8. 24 etc., (s. *i*-dec., *o*-dec.).

3. Adjectives.

Declension of Adjectives.

§ 72. The strong dec. of adjectives (cf. Siev., §§ 292—303).

a) Mas. and neut. adjectives:

α) Singular. *Nom.* *o*-stems: no ending. Variations: gelice 20. 1; genyhtsume 5. 37; oþre 27. 38 (9 oþer); wiðerdune (angusta) 7. 14; most forms regular. *jo*-stems: short, un-nytt 12. 36; long, clæne 23. 26 etc.; excep., eorra 18. 34, (but *-e* 2. 16; 22. 7). *wo*-stems: naru 7. 14; excep., merwe (tener) 24. 32. *Gen.* Ending *-es*. Excep.: medmiclæs 16. 8, (*-es* 8. 26; 14. 31); ending wanting: soþfest 23. 35; 10. 41, (*-es* 10. 41). *Dat.* Ending *-um* (8): ængum 22. 16 etc.; -u(m), (6); middu(m) 14. 24 etc.; neglecting case: micel (acc. ?) 28. 8; dysig 7. 26; oþer 27. 62; yfle (ins. ?) 12. 35. *Ins.*: miccle 2. 10; 24. 30 etc.; oþre 26. 42. *Acc.* *o*-stems: Neuters, no ending; masculines, *-ne*. Excep. alnē 24. 14, (3 *-ne*, 16. 26 etc.); neglecting case: untrum 25. 44; dumb, deaf 9. 32; oþer 2. 12; most forms (21) regular, *-ne*. Only long-stem neuters of the *jo*-cl. occur: neowe 26. 29 etc.; wyrpe 3. 8 etc. β) Plural. *Nom.-acc.* *Mas.* *o*-stems: Ending *-e*. Excep.: -sekæ 4. 24, (3 *-e*, 8. 33 etc.); soþfestē 23. 28, (*-e* 13. 17);

godne (mere error) 7. 17; ealla 21. 12, (35 -e, 10. 30 etc.); without ending: dysig 23. 17; eadig 5. 3. 11; monig 24. 5; 27. 52; oþer 15. 30; *jo*-stems regular: unnytte 20. 3. 7; freo 17. 26; neowe 13. 52 etc.; *wo*-stems reg.: gearwe 24. 44; feawe 20. 16 etc. (4). *Neut.* *o*-st. Long monosyls., no ending: eall 24. 8 etc.; polysyls., -u (-e): monegu 25. 21. 23; -ige 7. 22; 13. 58; 27. 55; nænegu 13. 38; yflu 21. 41; eadige 13. 16; oþre 25. 16. 20. 22, (Lindis. has oðero); without ending: micel 24. 24; *jo*-st.: eaðe 19. 26; ðeostru 6. 23; *wo*-st.: iara 22. 4. *Gen.* *o*-st. Ending -ra: ealra 1. 17; blindra 15. 14 etc.; *jo*-st., unclenra 10. 1. *Dat.* Ending -um (29), -u(m), (14): allum 10. 22 etc.; fremðum 17. 25 etc.; feawum 25. 23 etc.

Note. Foreign names with Eng. ending: cananisc 15. 22; nazarisc 2. 23; cyreniscnæ (acc. m.) 27. 32; iudiscne 23. 15.

b) Feminine adjectives:

α) Singular. *Nom.* *ā*-stems: Long monosyls., no ending. Excep.: ealle 22. 40, (but eall 21. 10 etc.). Others have -u, -o in WS.; but polysyls. with short rad. syl. usually, no ending, (cf. Siev., § 296, n. 1). R' has: micelu 28. 2; 24. 21, (but micel 8. 24. 26; 20. 29; 26. 47); with -e: yfle 16. 4, (yfel 12. 39). Sometimes long stems lack ending: oþer 27. 61; 28. 1 (but oþeru 12. 13; 24. 41; -e 24. 41); woestig 14. 15. -æ occurs in: un-geleaf-fullæ 17. 17. -e for -u in wā-st.: iare 22. 8. *Dat.* ending -re, -ra: a curious fluctuation in gender is found in 22. 37, of alre heortan *þines*, of alra saule *þinre*, of *alra* mode *þin(um)*. Neglecting case: halig 24. 15. In the gl.: miclæ stæfnæ 27. 46; miccle stæfne 27. 50, *stæfn* seems to be m. n., and the case, ins. A middle vowel appears in jâ-st. middere 25. 6, (cf. Siev., § 297 and § 293, note 4). *Acc.* Ending -e: gode 13. 8 etc. Without ending: heh 4. 5; oþer 13. 24. 31. 33; 19. 9 (-e 10. 23; 21. 33).

β) Plural. *Nom.-acc.* Ending -e, not -a, in R': ealle 18. 34 etc. (3); monige 19. 22 etc. (6); snottre 25. 2; dysige 25. 2; hæfige 23. 4; dryge 12. 43 etc. *wā*-st.: gearwe 25. 10.

Note. For the inflected forms of participles see §§ 33, 40, 41.

§ 73. The weak dec. of adjectives (cf. Siev., § 304):

a) Singular. *Nom.-voc.* *Mas.* Ending -a, also -e, -æ: leofa 3. 17. goda 25. 21 (but -u 25. 23); æftera 27. 64 etc.; with -e, -æ: dole 5. 22; blindæ 23. 26; yfle 24. 48; 25. 26; se iungæ 19. 20; -e 19. 22; se stronge (fortem) 12. 29 (object in constr.); se dumbe 9. 33; se wiðerwearde 5. 25; (voc.) 4. 10; 16. 23; deoful-seoke 12. 22. *Neut.* One -æ: swiðræ (m.?) 26. 51, (-e 5. 29); otherwise -e: gode 13. 38; æftere 22. 39 etc. *Fem.* -æ in: winstræ (m.?) 6. 3; but swiþre 6. 3; 5. 30; -a in proper adj.: magdalenisca 27. 56. 61; 28. 1. *Gen.* -n wanting in:

neowe 26. 28; soþfæste 27. 24; but halgan 28. 19; micclan 5. 35; hreofan (as sb.) 26. 6. *Dat.* -n wanting in: soþfæste 27. 19; 25. 37; swælce 18. 5; towarde 12. 32 (-an 3. 7); wiðerwearde 5. 25; ufa-warde, neoþewearde 27. 51; snottra 7. 24. Other cases (9) have -an: halgan 1. 20 etc. *Acc. Mas.* -n wanting: instondenlice 6. 11; dæghwæmlicu 6. 11; unnytte 25. 30; nazarenisco 26. 71; galiliscu 26. 69; with -an: ondwardan 28. 15. *Fem. regular*, -an: swiðran 20. 21 etc. (7); winstran 20. 23 etc. (3); halgan 4. 5; 27. 53. *Neut. reg.*: soþfæste 27. 4; but, on þæt swiðran wonge 5. 39.

b) Plural. *Nom.-acc.* -n wanting (perhaps st. instead of wk. in some cases): blinde 11. 5; 15. 30 etc. (7); dumbe 15. 30. 31; deafe 11. 5; deaðe (= -de) 10. 8; -a 8. 32; deade 11. 5; -a 8. 22; dysige 25. 3; -ege 25. 8; gode 13. 48; 5. 45; soþfeste 13. 43 etc. (4); snottre 25. 4 etc. (3); stanige 13. 20; ealde 13. 52; healte 15. 31; 21. 14; halte 15. 30; 11. 5; hreofe 11. 5. 8; untryme 14. 14; tungulkræftgu 2. 1; deoful-seoka 8. 28; but -an: erran 12. 45. *Gen.* elðeodigra 27. 7; but *meoduma* pissa 25. 45. For ord. numerals see § 77.

Comparison of Adjectives.

§ 74. Regular comp. (cf. Siev., §§ 307—11).

a) Comparative: in aldre (as. sb.) 9. 34; diorre (n. p.) 6. 26; epre (n. s. n.) 9. 5; 19. 24; wisfæstre (n. s. m.) 19. 21; ârefrendlicre (n. s. n.) 10. 15; strængra (n. s. m.) 3. 11; hæðgra (n. p.) 23. 23.

b) Superlative: mængistu (n. pl.) 11. 20 (cf. Lindelöf, § 64); æreste (n. and a. s. m.) 23. 6; 22. 25. 38; (n. p.) 20. 16; -u 19. 30 (2); 20. 8. 10; erestu 20. 16.

§ 75. Irregular comp. (cf. Siev., §§ 312—14).

a) Comparative: wyrse (n. s. m.) 12. 45; 27. 64; bettra (n. s. m.) 12. 12; (n. p.) 10. 31; lessa (n. s. m.) 11. 11; se nærra 21. 31; mare (n. s. m.) 23. 11 etc.; -a 12. 6. 41. 42; (n. s. n.) 13. 32; -æ (n. s. m.) 11. 11; -ae (n. s. n.) 5. 47; -e 6. 25 etc. (3); (n. pl.) 20. 25; ytterre (a. s. n.) 25. 30; -æ 22. 13.

b) Superlative: wyrresta (ac. s.) 12. 45; æt nihste 25. 11; æt nehsta 21. 37; næhsta (d. s. m.) 20. 14; -u (a. s. m.) 5. 26; 22. 39; (n. p.) 20. 12. 16; 19. 30; nehstu(m) 19. 19; næhstum 20. 8; nextan (a. p.) 5. 43; mæste (n. s. f.) 21. 8; (n. s. n.) 22. 38; læsest (cf. Siev., § 312, note 1; Lindelöf, § 64, 2) 5. 19; 10. 42; 13. 32; -æst 2. 6; (þe, se) læsesta 5. 19; 25. 40; þe lætest (for lætemest, cf. Siev., § 314) 22. 27; þa ytmæste (cf. Siev., ibid. note 2) 8. 12; þe ytmæste dæg 12. 45; forþmæstu (a. p.) 23. 6; þæs medmasta 6. 30 (cf. Siev., § 312, note 1); forma (n. s. m.) 20. 27; in forma dæg 28. 1; formæ (d. s. m.) 26. 17.

4. Numerals.

§ 76. Cardinal numerals (cf. Siev., §§ 324—27):

1) an (n. m.) 5. 29 etc. (21); ane (solus) 24. 36; 14. 23 (2), (inflected wk.); an (n. n.) 6. 29 etc. (5); (n. f.) 5. 41; with neg.: nan 5. 34; 6. 23; 22. 25; anes (g.) 21. 24; anum (d. s.) 18. 5 etc. (11); -u(m) 25. 40; 27. 14; ænne (a. m.) 5. 36; 13. 46; 18. 16. 28; 23. 15; enne (cf. Siev., § 324, 1) 17. 8; 18. 6. 10; 27. 15. 16; an (a. n.) 18. 9 etc. (10); ane (a. f.) 6. 27 etc. (3); anra (g. p.) 16. 27; 18. 35; anum (d. p.) 12. 4. 2) twægen 19. 5. 6 etc. (16); twegen 4. 18 etc. (12); twege 5. 41; 18. 20; twegra 21. 31; 27. 21; begen 15. 14; 13. 30; ba (m.) 27. 44; bu (n.) 9. 17; tu (n.); 25. 32; (twa alt. to) *tu* (m.!) 9. 28; twa (n.) 18. 9; (f.) 10. 10; 18. 8; 24. 41; (mas.!) 9. 27; 18. 8; twæm 6. 24 etc. (4); twæ(m) 23. 15; 26. 2. 3) preo (m.) 12. 40; 18. 20; (f.) 15. 32; 12. 40; (n.) 17. 4; neglecting case: twegen oppe preo (for twegra, preora) 18. 16; ðrim (prim) 13. 33 etc. (4). 4) feower 16. 10; fro(m) feowre windu(m) 24. 31 (cf. Siev., § 325). 5) fif 14. 17. 19 etc. (10); fife (attrib.) 25. 3; (alone) 25. 2 (2); 25. 16. 20. 6) sex 17. 1. 7) seofun 18. 21. 22; 15. 34. 36; siofun 12. 45 etc. (5); siofuna (alone) 22. 28. 9) nigon 18. 12. 13. 10) tēn 25. 1; ten 18. 24; 25. 28; tene (alone) 20. 24. 11) enlefan 28. 16. 12) twælf 10. 1; 14. 20; 26. 20. 53; twelf 9. 20; 10. 2; 20. 17; twelfe (attrib.) 19. 28 (2); 26. 47; (alone) 11. 1; twælf 10. 5; 26. 14. 14) feower-tene 1. 17 (3). 30) ðritig 26. 15; 27. 3; þ- 13. 8. 23; ðrittig 27. 9. 40) feowertig 4. 2 (2). 60) sextig 13. 8. 23. 70) hund-seofuntigum 18. 22. 90) hund-nigontig 18. 12. 13. 100) hund-teantig 19. 29; -teontig 13. 8. 23; 18. 12; hundred 18. 28, (cf. Siev., § 327). 1000) þusend 5. 41 etc. (3); þusenð 14. 21; (fif, feower) þusenda 16. 9. 10; ten þusende 18. 24.

§ 77. Other numerals (cf. Siev., §§ 328—31).

a) Ordinals:

1st) forma 20. 27; 28. 1; -æ 26. 17, (s. § 75); æreste 23. 6 etc. (s. § 74). 2d) oþer 22. 26 etc. (s. § 72); æftera 21. 31 etc. (s. I., § 1, c). 3d) þridde (n. m.) 22. 26; ð- (ac. m.) 27. 64; (d.-i.?) 26. 44; 17. 23; 16. 21; -a (d. f.) 20. 3; ðrydda (d.-i. m.) 20. 19. 4th) feorþe (d. f.) 14. 25; feorþan (a. m.) 5. 26. 6th) sextan (d. f.) 20. 5; syxta (d. f.) 27. 45. 7th) þæm siofund 22. 26 (Lindis. seofunda). 9th) nigopan 20. 5; 27. 45. 46. 11th) ællefta (d. f.) 20. 6; elleftan 20. 9.

b) Distributives (cf. Siev., § 329):

Here belong by origin the prepositions: betwih 18. 15; 26. 58; (also written betwihc 20. 26; -twig 24. 10); betweon 3. 9; 11. 11; -twion 16. 8. 7; 23. 35; betwihs 21. 25; -twix 20. 26; 27. 56. In 26. 22, *singuli* is glossed: anlepum (cf. Siev., *ibid.*, note 2).

c) Multiplicatives:

anfald 6. 22; twæ(m) fældu(m) 23. 15; hundteantig falde 19. 29.

d) Numeral adverb:

priowa 26. 34; priuwa 26. 75.

5. Pronouns.

§ 78. Personal pronouns without distinction of gender (cf. Siev., § 332).

a) First person.

α) Sing. *Nom.*, ic 10. 35; 12. 6 etc.: with neg.; nic 13. 29; 25. 9. *Gen.*, min 22. 18; 25. 36 etc. (often as possessive, s. § 79). *Dat.*, me 20. 13; 21. 2 etc. (about 66); *Acc.*, me 18. 32; 19. 21 etc. (19); meec 18. 21; 19. 17; 25. 35 etc. (33). β) Dual. *Nom.*, wit 20. 22. *Dat.*, unc 9. 27. *Acc.*, unc 20. 30. 31. γ) Plural. *Nom.*, we 3. 15; 6. 12; 7. 22 etc. (37); wæ 6. 31 (2); wē 23. 30. *Gen.*, (as pos.) ure 23. 30; 8. 17 etc. *Dat.*, us 27. 4; 22. 17 etc. (23). *Acc.*, us 6. 13 (2); 27. 25; 6. 12 (dat.?) ; usic 1. 23; 8. 25. 29. 31 (2); 20. 7.

b) Second person.

α) Sing. *Nom.*, þu 5. 25; 6. 18 etc.; ðu 5. 25 etc.; *Gen.*, (as pos.) þin 15. 28; 6. 22 etc. *Dat.*, þe 18. 32 etc. (37); ðe 11. 23 etc. (30). *Acc.*, þe 4. 6; 5. 29 etc. (12); ðe 25. 38 etc. (8); þec 5. 25; 9. 22 etc. (11); ðec 18. 8. 9 etc. (6); þæc 19. 19; 26. 73; ðæc 21. 21. β) Dual. *Nom.*, git 4. 19; 9. 28 etc. (8). *Dat.*, inc 9. 28. 29; 20. 23; 21. 2. 3; 28. 10. γ) Plural. *Nom.*, ge 12. 7; 13. 14 etc. *Gen.*, eower 12. 11; 18. 19; 23. 11 etc., (often pos, 5. 16 etc.). *Dat.*, eow 6. 8. 9 etc. (about 122); heow 6. 14; iu 5. 32. *Acc.*, eow 7. 23; 5. 46 etc. (26); eowic 10. 23; 11. 29 etc. (19).

§ 79. Possessive Pronouns (cf. Siev., § 335):

a) *Gen.*, mines 12. 50 etc. *Dat.* (sg.), minum 2. 15 etc.; (pl.), 13. 30 etc. *Acc.* (sg. mas.), minne 20. 23 etc. (5); mine 20. 4. 7; (sg. fem.) 19. 20; 16. 18 etc. *Nom.* (pl. mas.), mine 12. 48 etc.

b) *Nom.-acc.* (s. and p.), ure 24. 42; 6. 12 etc. (9); uru (n. s. n.) 21. 38; userne (a. s. m.) 6. 11; *Dat.* (pl.) urum 8. 17; 21. 42.

c) *Gen.*, pines 7. 5 etc. (pine 7. 3). *Dat.* (s. mas. neut.), pinum 1. 20 etc.; (pl.), 12. 37 etc.; (fem.) pinre 22. 37. *Acc.* (s. m.), pinne 11. 10 etc. (3); pine 5. 43 etc. (3); (fem.), 6. 6; 12. 13 etc. *Nom.-acc.* (pl. m.), 9. 14; 12. 2 etc.; (fem.), 18. 8 etc. *Gen.* (pl.), pinra 22. 44; pine (for pinra?) 5. 29. 30.

d) *Dat.* (s.), incrum 9. 29.

e) *Gen.*, eowres 5. 45; 25. 8. *Dat.* (m. and n.), eowrum 7. 11; 9. 4 etc.; (fem.), eowre 19. 8. *Acc.* (s. f.), eowre 6. 1; 15. 3. *Nom.-*

acc. (p). *eowre* (m.) 5. 44 etc.; (f.) 6. 14; (n.) 13. 16 etc. -*a* 19. 8; (3.) 23. 38; *Gen.* (p)., *eowra* 23. 32; (nom. s. f.) 5. 12; 10. 13; (ac. p.) 6. 15.

§ 80. Pronoun of the third person (cf. *Siev.*, § 334):

a) Sing. α) Mas. and neut.: *Nom.* (m.) *he* 8. 23; 13. 3 etc.; (n.), *hit* 13. 27. 32 etc. *Gen.*, *his* 7. 9. 26 etc.; *is* 7. 24; 22. 24; 24. 46. *Dat.* *him* 15. 12 etc. (174); *hi(m)* 16. 17 etc. (34); *heo(m)* 26. 64; 27. 11. *Acc.* (m.), *hine* 5. 15. 25 etc. (120); *hinæ* 22. 15; 26. 16 etc. (8); *hinae* 8. 31; (n.), *hit* 12. 44; 14. 12 etc. β) Fem.: *Nom.*, *heo* 9. 18. 21; *hio* 1. 18; 5. 35 etc. (8); *hiu* 5. 32; 8. 15 etc. (7). *Gen.*, *hire* 2. 18; 9. 25 etc. (6); *hiræ* 23. 37; 26. 13. *Dat.*, *hire* 14. 4. 7 etc. (15). *Acc.*, *heo* 9. 18. 22; *hio* 1. 19; *eo* 16. 18; *hie* 1. 19; 16. 4; *hiae* 5. 30; 8. 15; *hiæ* 10. 13; 12. 41. 42; 15. 23 (2).

b) Plur. *Nom.-acc.*, *heo* 7. 20; 20. 33 etc. (11); *hio* 20. 2; 21. 37; *hiæ* 28. 8; 13. 28 etc. (83); *hię* 17. 5. 24 etc. (13); *hiae* 6. 7; 9. 31 etc. (8); *hie* 10. 25; 16. 4 etc. (64); *hye* 27. 4; *hy* 26. 4. 5; *hi* 21. 34 etc. (4); *hi* 20. 31; 21. 15. 25; *he* (for *heo*) 4. 6; 7. 16; 14. 17; 16. 28; 27. 15. *Gen.*, *heora* 23. 31 etc. (75); *heor* 27. 30; *eora* 6. 15; 7. 16 etc. (9); *hiora* 1. 21; 4. 21; 9. 2; 17. 6; 23. 5. *Dat.*, *heom* 6. 1 etc. (64); *heo(m)* 15. 3 etc. (67); *him* 2. 7; 3. 7 etc. (9); *hi(m)* 26. 19.

§ 81. The simple demonstrative pronoun (cf. *Siev.*, § 337).

a) Sing. α) Mas. and neut.: *Nom.*, (m.), *se* 6. 4; 7. 21 etc. (often); *sē* 21. 42; 27. 15; *pe* 16. 3; 18. 14 etc. (13); (n.), *pæt* 2. 23; 3. 5 etc. *Gen.*, *pæs* 18. 10 etc. (44); *ðæs* 1. 1; 2. 9; *pas* 2. 20; 9. 23; 13. 27. *Dat.*, *pæm* 18. 14 etc. (50); *thæm* 7. 9; *ðæm* 21. 33 etc. (13); *ðem* 2. 8; *pæ(m)* 25. 28. 29 etc. (53); *pęm* 8. 22; 12. 13; 17. 13; *ðæ(m)* 3. 11 etc. (3). *Acc.* (m.), *pone* 1. 6. 25 etc. (43); *pon* 27. 66; *pon(e)* 5. 26; *ponne* 17. 27; *pon(ne)* 18. 2; *pane* 4. 18; 7. 14; 21. 38; *ðane* 21. 33; *pæne* 6. 1; 7. 13; 21. 39; 25. 28; 26. 29; *pęne* 24. 45; *pene* 25. 30; 27. 15; *ðene* 20. 22; (n.), *pæt* 5. 24. 39 etc. (35); *ðæt* 5. 39. *Ins.*, *py* 6. 14; 5. 25 etc. (14); *ðy* 16. 7 etc. (3); *pon* 4. 2; 6. 8 etc. β) Fem. *Nom.*, *sio* 16. 4 etc. (5); *seo* 5. 30; 13. 2; 22. 23; *se* (for *seo*? cf. *he* for *heo*) 6. 3; 25. 10; 27. 61; *siu* 9. 25; 8. 32 etc. (4); *sie* 21. 10. *Gen.*, *pære* 21. 5; 27. 60; *pare* 1. 1; 5. 31; *para* 24. 15; 23. 23; 26. 28; 14. 35; 21. 17. *Dat.*, *pære* 9. 22; 18. 1 etc. (24); *para* 7. 14; 21. 43; 24. 36; 27. 61. *Acc.*, *pa* 2. 7; 12. 1 etc. (23); *ða* 23. 19; 24. 38.

b) Plur. *Nom.-acc.*, *pa* 5. 5; 21. 9; 23. 13 etc. (128); *ða* 7. 6 etc. (6). *Gen.*, *para* 14. 20. 21 etc. (36); *ðara* 18. 12; *paræ* 25. 2; *pæræ* 16. 28; *pære* 10. 29; 21. 31; 27. 52. *Dat.*, *pæm* 18. 17 etc. (58); *ðæm* 19. 11 etc. (10).

§ 82. The compound demonstrative pronoun (cf. *Siev.*, § 338).

a) Sing. α) Mas. and neut.: *Nom.* (m.), *pes* 21. 10 etc. (7); *pēs* 9. 3; *ðeos* 27. 47; *pīos* 18. 4, (Lindis. has *ðes* in both cases); (n.), *pis* 3. 3. 17 etc. *Gen.* *pisses* 13. 15; 20. 12; 27. 24; neglecting case: *rice pēos (regni hujus)* 8. 12. *Dat.*, *pišsum* 13. 54. 56; *pišsu(m)* 8. 9 etc. (4); neglecting case: *pīos* 18. 7. *Acc.* (m.), *pišne* 11. 23; 28. 15; *pēosne* 27. 8; n., *pis* 1. 20; 8. 9 etc. β) Fem. *Nom.*, *pēos* 14. 15 etc. (3); *ðeos* 26. 8; *pīos* 26. 13. *Gen.*, *pišse* 13. 22. *Dat.*, *pišse* 17. 20 etc. (5); *ðisse* 19. 28; *pišsere* 21. 21. *Acc.*, *pas* 11. 16 etc. (16); *ðas* 17. 9.

b) Plur. *Nom.-acc.* *pas* 4. 3; 19. 20 etc. (38). *Gen.*, *pišsa* 6. 32; 18. 6; 25. 45; -e 5. 19; 18. 14; -e 10. 42. *Dat.*, *pišsu(m)* 3. 9; 22. 40; *ðišsum* 18. 10; *ðišsu(m)* 8. 32.

§ 83. The relative pronoun (cf. Siev., § 340):

The particle *pe* (used alone) 10. 6. 32; 9. 8; 7. 2 etc.; oftener with demonstrative: *sepe* 10. 37; 11. 11 etc.; *se pe* 26. 14. 25 etc.; *ðe pe* 17. 27; *pone pe* 28. 5 etc.; *pa pe* 16. 23 etc.; (*pa pa*, same verse); excep.: *forpon pi* 5. 35; *pæm thi* 21. 42.

§ 84. The simple interrogative pronoun (cf. § 341):

Nom. (m.), *hwa* 10. 11. 42 etc.; (n.), *hwæt* 9. 13; 12. 7 etc. (15); *Gen.*, *hwæs* 6. 8; 18. 19 etc. *Dat.*, *hwæm* 12. 27; 17. 25; *hwæ(m)* 11. 16 etc. (3). *Acc.* (n.), *hwæt* 6. 3. 25 etc. (31); *huat* 16. 13. *Ins.* (for) *hwon* 8. 26; 9. 14; (to) 26. 8. 50; *forhwon* 9. 4 etc. (16); *forwon* 17. 19; 22. 18.

Note. The comp. (cf. Siev., § 341. n. 2: *gehwæt* (quisque) 15. 17; *gehwæm* 16. 27.

§ 85. Interrog. pronouns inflected as adjectives (cf. Siev., § 342):

a) *hwæper* 23. 19 etc. (4); *hweper* 9. 5; 21. 31; *hwepre* 23. 17; b) *hwilc* 15. 5; 6. 27 etc.; *hwylc* 24. 3; *hwelc* 12. 48; *hwælc* 7. 9; 12. 32; 14. 36 etc.; *hwylces* 22. 28; *hwilce* 21. 27; 12. 48; -æ 21. 23; *hwylce* 5. 46; 18. 18; c) *hulic* 8. 27; d) Correlative to *hwilc*: *swilce* 9, 8; 24. 21.

§ 86. Other pronouns (cf. Siev., §§ 343—49).

sum (quidam) 12. 47 etc.; -ne 8. 2; 12. 38; *sume* 21. 8; 16. 14 etc.; *sumu(m)* 25. 15 etc. *hwæt-hwugu* (aliquid) 5. 23; 20. 20. *awiht* (aliquid) 21. 3; *owiht* 24. 17 etc.; neg.: *nawiht* 26. 62; *nauwiht* 21. 19 etc.; *næht* 23. 16; *nohte* 5. 13. *æghwile* (omnis) 12. 25 etc.; -re 23. 27; -e 13. 47 etc.; *æghwelcu(m)* 4. 4; *ægwilc* 7. 17; 12. 36. *pæt ilce* (eundem) 26. 44; (*ipsum*) 27. 44. *sylf* (*ipse*) 3. 4; -e 12. 48; 23. 3; *selfe* 1. 21; -a 6. 34; *selfne* 27. 42; *seolfne* 19. 19; 22. 39; 27. 40; *sylfum* 19. 12; *seolfum* 12. 25 etc. (5). *Swa hwa swa* (*quicumque*) 15. 5 etc. For *oþer*, *ænig*, *nænig*, see § 72.

Conclusion.

The evidence afforded by the vowel-system of R' (cf. Pt. I.¹⁾) that the language of the gloss in question occupies an intermediate and independent position between the Northumbrian dialect on one side, and the dialects of Wessex and Kent on the other, is still farther confirmed by the preceding examination.

Lindelöf has pointed out (Spr. d. Rit. v. D. p. IV.) that the chief characteristics of the Northumbrian dialect, in contradistinction to other dialects, are to be found in the inflectional system. He says: »Die alten Flexionsverhältnisse sind in »dieser Mundart durch Analogiebildungen jeder Art in eine »vollständige Auflösung geraten, und zwar zu einer Zeit, wo »das WS. noch ein regelmässiges Flexionssystem aufzuweisen »hatte. In dieser Zerrüttung spielt fremder Einfluss sicher »keine Rolle etc.«

The effect of analogy in reducing inflectional forms to uniformity and in confusing declensions has not gone so far in R' as in Rit., but its disturbing influence is, nevertheless, plain.

Gemination is preserved by analogy in the nom.-acc. sg. of *jô-* and *jâ-*stems (cf. §§ 54, 55, 57), and a geminated cons. is often introduced into the 2d and 3d sg. pres. ind., and into the sg. imp. of verbs in *-jo* (cf. §§ 46 and 49), also in the nom.-acc. sg. of nouns not *jô-*stems, (cf. § 55). The ending of the nom.-acc. pl. of mas. nouns of the *o*-dec. is extended in some cases to fem. and neut. nouns (cf. §§ 55. 56. 68), and even to the mas. *sunu* of the *u*-dec. (cf. § 62). The ending of the obl. cases sometimes appears in the nom. sg. (cf. §§ 56. 57. 65 etc.).

While the consonants (except *n*) of inflectional terminations are preserved, there is a tendency to reduce vowels to *-e*. To be sure this has not gone very far (see below), yet even at the period of this gloss (s. I, p. 83) a beginning had

1) Pt. I. was presented as a dissertation to the Phil. Faculty of the University of Göttingen in July 1890, and was published in 1891.

been distinctly made in the direction along which the dialect of the Midland region advanced toward Middle and Modern English.

A comparison of the forms in R', given above, with the chief characteristics of the North. dialect based upon peculiarities of inflection (cf. Bouterwek, p. CLIX ff.; Lindelöf, p. IV.), shows a clear line of demarcation.

1. The characteristic of the nom.-acc. pl. of mas. nouns of the o-dec. is the frequent weakening of -as to -es (æs), (cf. § 54); -o never occurs and -a very rarely.

2. The nom.-acc. pl. of the fem. â-dec. has the ending -e (-æ), rarely -a, (cf. §§ 56. 57), never -o from the n-dec., as often in Rit.

3. The ending -es rarely (2) appears in the gen. of st. fem. nouns, while it is more common in Rit. than the proper ending -e. There is however some confusion of gender as indicated by modifying pronouns and adjectives (cf. §§ 54—72).

4. The 3d sg. pres. ind. and the pl. pres. ind. and pl. imp. (st. vbs. and Class I, wk.) are not kept clearly apart by difference of ending; -eþ often occurs in the pl. (ind. and imp.), and aþ often in the 3d sg. pres. (cf. §§ 25. 26. 30). But there is no case of the ending -es, -as characteristic of North., (cf. Lindelöf, *ibid.*, and pp. 76—78).

5. The loss of *n* in the inf., the opt. pl., and the weak dec. of nouns, which is the rule in North., is very common in R' (s. §§ 28. 31. 65—7. 73), but *n* is often retained.

6. *þe* for *sē* (dem. pro.) occurs (cf. § 83), but not *ðio* for *sēo*.

For other minor variations, e. g., -as for -es in gen. sg., -ana in gen. pl., of mas. and neut. nouns of the st. dec.; him (sg.), heom (pl.) etc., see the several paragraphs above. The departure of the text from standard WS. has been noted in each case and need only be referred to here.

The prepositions *in* and *mid* (*mið*) furnish valuable evidence in regard to dialect (cf. Napier, *Ang. X.*, 138. 139) and deserve a few words in closing. *in* is common in North., seldom used in WS., which prefers *on* (*an*). R' has 428 *in*, 94 *on*, 1 *an*. »In echtws. denkmälern wird *mid* stets mit

dem dat. bezw. instrumental konstruiert« (cf. Napier, *ibid.*). In R' *mid* (*mið*) appears frequently (21 times) with the acc., as in Chad, and North. Gl. (cf., for the latter, Bouterwek, p. CLXIV):

With the dat.	17	<i>mid</i> ,	17	<i>mið</i>	34
„ „ ins.	1	„	1	„	2
„ „ acc.	16	„	5	„	21
Undetermined	19	„	4	„	23

In conclusion I gladly acknowledge again my obligation to my friend and teacher, Prof. Dr. Alois Brandl, of the Strassburg University, at whose suggestion the work was begun, and whose encouragement and helpful criticism have never failed me.

Corrections and Additions to Pt. I.

P. 5, n. 1. C. 3, comma after gloss.

P. 6, l. 15, read 'hand'.

P. 13, l. 10, read '126 Mal'.

P. 14, l. 14, add 'was 26. 1'.

P. 16, l. 22, add 'hefæþ 5. 32'.

P. 21, l. 12, add 'oelebearwes 21. 1; 24. 3; 26. 30'.

P. 21, l. 10, (fr. bot.) read 'uulf'.

P. 24, l. 11, read '2 Mal' instead of 'mehrmals'.

P. 24, l. 8, (fr. bot.) read 'aelmaehtgan'.

P. 24, l. 12, erase '24. 9'.

P. 28, l. 20, (fr. bot.) read 'nissum'.

P. 29, l. 16, erase 'gewerfe 18. 3', and introduce, p. 36, l. 16.

P. 29, l. 16, after '9. 22' add '17. 7'; after '16. 23' add '-æþ 7. 6'.

P. 30, l. 8, (fr. bot.) read 'heagospinnu(m)'.

P. 31, l. 10, read 'sprece (pres. ind. st. sg.) 13. 13'.

P. 31, l. 13, (fr. bot.) read '-þeuwa'.

P. 32, l. 2, read '56 Mal'.

P. 32, l. 17, read 'aegberht'.

P. 36, l. 16, erase 'gehwerfæþ (Pl.) 7. 6; mis-werfde (Part.) 17. 17 neben'.

P. 36, l. 7, introduce 'wyrpe (opt.?) 12. 27. 28; awyrpeþ (Ind. pl.) 12. 27'.

P. 36, l. 16, introduce 'gewyrfeþ 6. 19. 20 (schw.?)'.

P. 36, l. 10, (fr. bot.) introduce 'vor g: bergaþ caute 16. 11'.

- P. 40, l. 5, read 'Stratmann'.
 P. 41, l. 10, (fr. bot.) read '-ðaþ 15. 8'; l. 11, '-eð 9. 34;'.
 P. 42, l. 3, introduce semi-colon before 'lige'.
 P. 42, l. 7 (fr. bot.) erase 'Pog. schreibt etc.' and transfer to p. 63, l. 2.
 P. 42, l. 11, (fr. bot.) read '§ 27. c.'
 P. 43, l. 17, (fr. bot.) after 'brymstream' add '(cf. Brenner, Eng. Stud. 16. 87)'.
 P. 44, l. 13, erase 'einmal e; sneddun 21. 8' and introduce p. 70, l. 4 fr. bot.
 P. 54, l. 11 (fr. bot.), introduce 'drync 10. 42'.
 P. 55, l. 16, after 'pytt' add '12. 11'.
 P. 55, l. 22, introduce 'spittende 27. 30; spittadun 26. 67'.
 P. 56, l. 10, (fr. bot.) read '242 e, 155 æ'.
 P. 56, l. 21, read 'im Altenglischen'.
 P. 57, l. 21, introduce 'efen 14. 15. 23; 20. 8; 26. 20. 26; 8. 16; 23. 6; -ne 28. 1; 16. 2; æfenne 27. 57'.
 P. 68, l. 20, (fr. bot.) introduce 'man 5. 33'.
 P. 73, l. 15, read 'Gloss' for 'Gbs'.
 P. 75, l. 6. 7, (fr. bot.) introduce '()' before 'cf.' and after 'Anm. 5'.
 P. 77, l. 5. 6, erase 'neowe 9. 17 etc. . . . niowe 9. 17' and s. § 31.
 P. 78, l. 10. 11, erase all in parenthesis '(das eo etc. . . . An. 1)'.
 For the phonology of the advs., gen 19. 20; get 24. 6 etc. s. Pt. II., § 9. a.

Corrections to Pt. II.

- In § 1, l) introduce '-er in winbeger 7. 16, (cf. OET. p. 609.)'.
 In § 1, d) introduce 'gemænes (= gomæn-nes) 27. 19'.
 In § 1, f) add 'Prop. names in -ing: gemoringa 10. 15; gerasinga 8. 28; sodominga 10. 15, (cf. Kluge, Stambb., § 26)'.

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